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SOCIOMETRY, PREFECTS AND PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE IN A JUNIOR SCHOOL

W. A. L. Blyth

The purpose of this paper is to describe two small investigations in a County junior school and to suggest their possible bearing on the theory and analysis of social structure and social process. Both investigations arose as extensions of a large-scale sociometric study of primary and secondary schools, a study which is still in progress. The first is concerned with the value of sociometry in selection for positions of responsibility in an official hierarchy and with the effects of this selection on the informal structure of groups; the second describes the sociometric exposure of a persistent cleavage in a group of young boys and its possible explanation in terms of some sociological variables. In both cases there are obvious implications for educational practice in this particular school and elsewhere; but, as is often the case in 'social action' studies, there may also be wider theoretical relevance. For a junior school is a valuable, and a very fascinating, microcosm of social processes, in respect both of its internal organisation and of its external relations; and it is in the careful and sympathetic study of such small-scale phenomena, rather than in premature and ambitious experimental designs, that the greatest promise may be found for the amendment of techniques of investigation, the formulation and testing of hypotheses, and the adoption of categories of classification according to which valid generalisations can be made.

Balfour Road[1] County Junior Mixed School serves a district in the industrial North of England. In the course of the main investigation, I tested the two nine-year-old classes, 3A and 3B (divided according to attainment) at Balfour Road three times during the school year 1955-56, in September, January and June. A clearly-defined procedure was used. Each child chose, on a duplicated form, three members of the class as companions on each of three criteria :

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Sit next to in class;
Play with when we are outside;
Go away with to a strange place.

Overlap of choice was allowed. No ranking or weighting was introduced, but additional friends in the class could be indicated in an extra space, and on the third (June) test the children were asked also to name friends outside their own class or outside the school. The usual precautions about absentees were taken, involving supplementary visits. From the raw data a 3×3 sociomatrix was constructed for each application of the test, and then target sociograms (Northway, 1952) were drawn according to a best-fit procedure. The resulting information yielded a rank-order for each test, from the sociomatrix, and a mapping of sub-groups from the sociogram.

The results of these tests revealed, among the boys in 3B, an unusually marked cleavage which was confirmed by the patterning of the free choices of friends outside the three basic criteria, though it was not immediately apparent in the boys' group behaviour. I therefore decided to investigate this 'concealed' cleavage for a further year, thus going beyond the normal procedure in the main investigation. Meanwhile the headmaster of Balfour Road,[2] who intended to introduce prefects in the fourth-year classes into which the 3A and 3B children would move in 1956-57, decided to use the sociometric findings in selecting these prefects and invited me to keep in touch with both classes for another year in order to examine the success of the selection and its effect on the classes in general. The outcome of this additional year's contact with the school has enabled me to prepare this paper, which describes first the choice of prefects and its consequences, then the cleavage-study, and finally a summary with suggestions of possible implications of the results.

I. The Selection and Performance of Prefects

In September, 1956, I made some suggestions for choice of prefects, based on the 1955-56 results. It was not intended that these sociometric findings would do more than supplement the staff's intimate knowledge of the abilities and personality of each child, but they served to give a child's-eye view of the informal social structure of the two classes and of the status and interaction-patterns of their component individuals, with results which, in some

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cases, the staff found surprising.

It might appear that a direct vote for prefects would have achieved the same result without the paraphernalia of sociometry, but it is not certain that such a vote would be effective in spite of its apparently democratic character. Junior school children, and younger secondary school children too, are often unable to foresee the implications of holding an official position[3] and so are apt to choose in the light of transient popularity or prestige. The quality required in prefects, even in a junior school, is presumably influence rather than popularity; and there is not necessarily a one-to-one correspondence between the two qualities. It can be maintained that sociometry has five advantages over the direct vote in the selection of junior-school prefects: (i) it offers a means of choice which is based on concrete or imaginary situations less abstract than prefecthood but relevant to the social universe in which the children live; (ii) it indicates not merely the popular 'stars' but also the 'pivots,' the slightly less popular but influential individuals (Jennings, 1948); (iii) it permits the application of a veto by the staff—occasionally necessary though it sounds authoritarian—without the frustration which would ensue from the excitement of a voting situation; (iv) it depends not on a snap vote but on a continuous series of tests which reveal the social structure in depth and which, if conducted by a school staff, could be blended un-obtrusively with the organisation of actual group-work (cf. Richardson, 1956); (v) it provides a means of subsequent assessment.

In connection with points (iv) and (v), it is quite probable that children's groups form structures which are relatively stable, while the choice-patterns of their constituent individuals fluctuate more rapidly within, but not between, the groups. (Jennings, 1950: this view is supported by other studies including the preliminary findings of my large-scale investigation). If so, then those individuals in a group who do maintain their high or pivotal status over a period of time are likely to continue, in general, to do so in the future provided that the structure remains 'viscous.' Some indication of the 'viscosity' of group structure may be gained by checking the stability of the choices made over a period of time. At Balfour Road this was measured in two ways, through rank-order correlations of status between the three pairs of tests in 1955-56[4] and through percentage of choices repeated (irrespective of criterion). The percentage stability figure probably gives the best guide to the

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permanence of groups, and the rank-order correlation the readiest index of the permanence of status. The former is perhaps the most important in relation to prefect-choice, but as they can obviously vary independently, both are given in Tables I and II. The sexes are shown separately, as the sociograms revealed an almost complete cleavage between the two; the normal expectation in preadolescence (Moreno, 1955: Bronfenbrenner, 1945). The final column in Table I shows that nearly one-third of the total choices made in September, 1955, were repeated in both January and June, 1956, while the remaining figures indicate that differences between the first and last test were little greater than those between adjacent tests, thus suggesting that the basic structure of the classes did not alter greatly. These results may be taken as indicating adequate 'viscosity' for the purposes of prognostic selection of prefects.[5]

TABLE I

Stability of Affiliation (percentage repetition).

Group	Sept. 1955–Jan. 1956	Jan. 1956–June 1956	Sept. 1955–June 1956	All three
3A Girls	49.3	48.8	35.7	26.6
3A Boys	52.1	53.5	41.0	31.2
3B Girls	53.2	55.6	50.8	35.7
3B Boys	43.5	45.9	42.0	31.9

TABLE II

Stability of Status (Rank-order correlations)

Group	Sept. 1955–Jan. 1956	Jan. 1956–June 1956	Sept. 1955–June 1956
3A Girls	.566	.590	.485
3A Boys	.645	.818	.510
3B Girls	.747	.406	.832
3B Boys	.684	.565	.485

The sociograms provided the actual basis for recommendations on selection. These are too complicated for reproduction in full, but the diagrams 1-8 on p. 9 constitute a descriptive summary of the originals. Each class had its own corporate structure, which was considered in making the recommendations.

Suggestions for Choice of Prefects from 3A

Throughout 1955-56, both girls and boys in 3A showed a healthy

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Diagrams to illustrate Social Structure of 3A-4A and 3B-4B. Based on Sociograms.
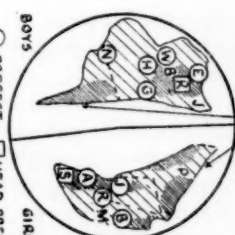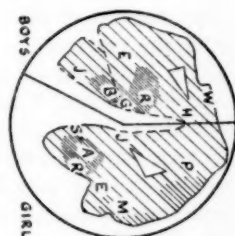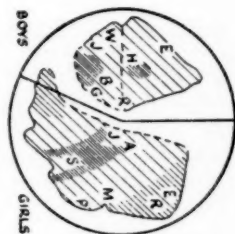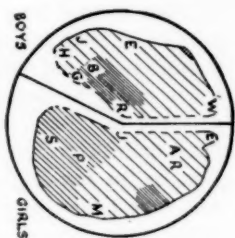
1. 3A. Sept. 55.   2. 3A. Jan. 56.   3. 3A. June 56.   4. 4A. July 57.
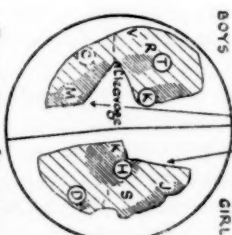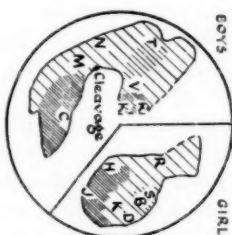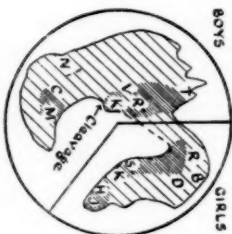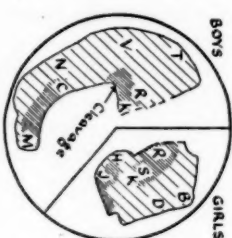
5. 3B. Sept. 55.   6. 3B. Jan. 56.   7. 3B. June 56.   8. 4B. July 57.

○ PREFECT   □ HEAD PREFECT   ⬭ RESIGNED AS PREFECT

"PREFECTLESS ZONES"

KEY.

Each circle is divided between the sexes in proportion to their numbers in the class. *Status* increases from zero at the circumference to very high at the centre. *Initials* refer to the pseudonyms of the children as shown on Table III. *Groups* are indicated by shading, which becomes heavier in areas where reciprocal choices were especially intense on the sociograms. *Firm-lined boundaries* indicate limits of groups beyond which there was total absence of interaction. *Broken boundaries* indicate limits across which a small amount of interaction took place.

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structure focused on a few leading individuals. Meanwhile a certain amount of incipient subdivision took place, as might be expected through increasing maturity (Fau, 1952, ch.4). I therefore considered it reasonable to recommend as prefects the 'stars' and those who appeared as 'pivots' in the articulation of subgroups, especially as these individuals also appeared, not surprisingly, among the recipients of the few intersex choices. I also felt that those individuals who were influential in 3A would also tend to be acceptable in 3B (when they became 4A and 4B respectively) and also among the younger children.

Suggestions for Choice of Prefects from 3B

The problem of choice from 3B was more difficult. For one thing, if responsibility was to be generalised from the class to the school, it might well be that, in view of the familiar tendency for personal effectiveness to be positively correlated with abilities, some of the less prominent members of 3A would be more generally influential than the leaders of 3B. However, as the prefects' influence would be mainly exercised through their own class, the headmaster eventually decided that something like proportional representation of the classes should be maintained. A more serious difficulty was posed by the structure of the boys' group, the subject to be considered in Section II of this report. Whereas the girls remained mostly integrated around one or two 'stars' of varying stability of status, the boys showed a sharp and possibly aggravating cleavage between two sub-groups linked only by a 'bridge' of one or two pivotal individuals. One sub-group was smaller than the other and it seemed necessary to establish some form of coalition in which the minority would be represented through an individual who had some links with the majority. As regards intersex relations, it again happened that the most prominent members of each sex drew choices from the other, so that no further difficulty arose on that score.

The actual recommendations are embodied in the first part of Table III. Pseudonyms are, of course, used. Columns 3-5 indicate the rank of the individual in 1955-56 (the total number of children in each age-sex group was about 20, with 3A girls and 3B boys above, and 3A boys and 3B girls below, that figure). Column 6 summarises the considerations borne in mind when the recommendations were made.

Performance of Prefects in 1956-57[6]

The remainder of Table III summarises the performance of the prefects eventually chosen, and thus indicates also the extent to which the actual selection ran parallel to the recommendations based on sociometry. It will be seen that this took place more in the 'A' than in the 'B' class, which is not surprising, because if anything one would expect that the correspondence between staff choice and children's choice would be greater among the abler children.

In respect of evaluation, it is clearly impossible to measure whether the selected children were in fact more effective as prefects than any others in the two classes would have been. The most informative measure of success was felt to be the generalised subjective impression formed by the staff of the way in which the prefects fulfilled their task. This was supplemented by two other indications of success. First, two items in the questionnaire designed as part of the investigation of group cleavage discussed in Section II of this report served also to throw light on the children's reputations throughout both classes:

i. 'Suppose your teacher gave your class a job to do, something where you all had to help but somebody had to organise it, to tell the others what to do. Who would be the best one to organise it? And which other ones would be nearly as good?'[7]

ii. 'Suppose you were all working together on a job like that, something where you could help one another. Who would be the best one at helping the others? And which others would be nearly as good?'

These were open-ended questions, allowing as many answers as the children wished to give; but I felt that the crude totals would give some indication of reputation for leadership and helpfulness respectively, two qualities which are likely to be linked with the type of influence that prefects would exercise. Columns 10 and 11 of Table III show the scores obtained on these questions. The second index of success, shown in Column 12, is the rank-order obtained in a further sociometric test held in July, 1957, to indicate whether the acceptance of office as prefects had affected the children's peer-status.

It is obvious that all the children who had been both recommended and selected (Janet, Angela, Richard, Gordon, Ernest, Heather and Kevin) showed up well on all criteria of assessment, except two boys: Ernest, who had been recommended a little less warmly and, though he proved a very faithful steward, lagged rather behind in reputation; and Richard, who had apparently been carrying a

TABLE III

Summary of Data on Selection

Group	Name	Rank Sept. 55	Rank Jan. 56	Rank June 56	Considerations borne in mind in making recommendations from sociometric data
Girls 3A	Janet	1	1	1	Steadily popular ; drew choice from all sub-groups of girls and some boys.
	Angela	3½	2	2½	Similar to Janet ; less outstanding; led important sub-group in January.
	Evelyn	22	14	2½	Steadily rising status ; pivotal position in the girls' structure.
	Pauline	2	19	7½	Variable but linked Janet to a sub-group farthest from the 'stars.'
	Sylvia	6	3	4	A lieutenant to the leading girls.
	Rosalind	6	9½	5	Close associate of Angela.
	Marion	10½	4½	6	Variable pivotal position without many reciprocated choices.
Boys 3A	Richard	1	1½	2½	⎡ A well-knit and clearly influential
	Gordon	5½	1½	1	⎨ trio, with links with almost every
	Brian	3	3	2½	⎣ boy and with some girls.
	Ernest	8	8	5	The most influential 'pivot' between the leading trio and others.
	James	13½	8	6	A lieutenant to the leading boys.
	Harold	13½	6	4	Emerging as a sub-group leader with affiliations with the girls.
	Walter	16½	15	13	Low status : unstable affiliations.
Girls 3B	Heather	1	4½	1	Consistently high status : links with all but a few girls.
	Rona	2	6	2	High status : a pivot between Heather and those remote from her.
	Karen	3½	2	4	Generally influential in a supporting role.
	Jane	5	8½	3	A lieutenant to Heather but rather limited in her affiliations.
	Sandra	3½	1	7	Rather mercurial in her role.
	Betty	14	13½	5½	Increasing status ; pivotal role.
	Delia	10	7	9½	Well integrated in the group but not noticeably influential.
Boys 3B	Kevin	1	1	1	An obvious choice but influential mainly with girls and majority boys.
	Raymond	2	2	2½	Kevin's lieutenant throughout.
	Victor	10	3	2½	Also Kevin's lieutenant ; some links with minority-group.
	Mark	7	4	10½	The member of the minority with most links with the majority.
	Christopher	4½	5	4	Higher status but less wide affiliations than Mark.
	Norman	13	8	12	Low status : pivot between groups.
	Trevor	13	6	13½	Low status : member of the majority group.

and Performance of Prefects, 1956-57

Name	Recommended?	Appointed?	Report on Performance 1956–1957	Votes for Leadership	Helpfulness	Rank July 1957
Janet	Yes	Yes	Generally good.	7	10	1
Angela	Yes	Yes	Reliable. Nervous but developing confidence.	4	0	3
Evelyn	Yes	Left Balfour Road	—	—	—	—
Pauline	Yes	No	—	0	0	10
Sylvia	Reserve	Hd. Prefect	Fairly good.	0	0	6½
Rosalind	Reserve	Yes	Good and reliable.	4	0	2
Marion	Reserve	No	—	2	5	8
Richard	Yes	Hd. Prefect	Started well: lacked drive.	8	3	5
Gordon	Yes	Yes	Excellent.	16	10	3
Brian	Yes	No	—	1	2	4
Ernest	Yes	Yes	Quite successful.	1	1	11½
James	Reserve	No	—	2	2	8
Harold	Reserve	Yes	Successful.	1	0	10
Walter	No	Yes	Increasingly officious until appointment cancelled.	0	0	10½
Heather	Yes	Yes	Very good. Perhaps over-serious.	4	7	2
Rona	Yes	Left Balfour Road	—	—	—	—
Karen	Yes	No	—	4	5	1
Jane	Yes	No	—	0	1	8
Sandra	Reserve	No	—	3	1	5
Betty	Reserve	Yes; in 4A	Quite effective there.	1*	1*	14*
Delia	No	Yes	Fair.	1	1	14
Kevin	Yes	Yes	Very reliable and conscientious.	5	5	1
Raymond	Yes	No	—	1	2	11
Victor	Yes	No	—	0	1	21
Mark	Yes	No	—	3	3	5
Christopher	Reserve	Yes	Failure; resigned at own request after three days.	0	0	15
Norman	No	Yes; in 4A	Steady: rather ineffective.	0*	0*	14*
Trevor	No	Yes	Keen and almost too conscientious.	2	1	9

* In 4A.

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family halo which he could no longer sustain under the demands
of the final year and the rôle of Head Prefect. In the case of
children recommended as reserves and appointed (Sylvia, Rosalind,
Harold, Betty and Christopher) the general level of performance
was a little lower, though Rosalind was excellent on the one hand,
and Christopher a complete failure in everyone's eyes on the other.
Harold, appointed largely on his sociometric record, was quite
successful. The four who were appointed despite absence of socio-
metric recommendation (Walter, Delia, Norman, Trevor) also
included a notable failure in Walter, while Trevor was the only real
success in that group.

Of those recommended either wholly or as reserves, who were
not appointed (Pauline, Marion, Brian, James, Karen, Sandra, Jane,
Raymond, Victor, Mark) it appears from columns 10-12 and the
July, 1957, sociograms that three (Marion, Karen, Mark) might well
have been influential enough to succeed as prefects. Mark would
almost certainly have been a more effective boy than Christopher,
who had been recommended less strongly. On the other hand,
Pauline's omission seems fully justified, and the claims of the other
six are not very strong.

Comments on Group Structure, 1956-57

The results of the sociometric test in July, 1957, were also used
to indicate how far the 'viscosity' of structure in the two classes
had been maintained through 1956-57. Stability of affiliation appeared
to have remained at a satisfactory level throughout the two years,
for over all four tests the figures for percentage stability were:

3—4A Girls — 19.7%   3—4B Girls — 29.6%
3—4A Boys — 23.8%   3—4B Boys — 21.5%

and affiliation, as previously indicated, is probably a better test than
status for the viscosity of group-structure. This is fortunate for the
predictive claims of sociometry, because the corresponding figures
for stability of status, namely the rank-order correlations between
June, 1956, and July, 1957, and referring to that year only, were:

3—4A Girls — .382   3—4B Girls — .205
3—4A Boys — .546   3—4B Boys — −.250

Actually these coefficients embody more than one statistical solecism,
but they do give a general picture of low stability which in one
case dips below zero, i.e. indicates a variability greater than random
expectation. In the light of this variability, the generally high and

stable status of the prefects is all the more noteworthy, although difficult to demonstrate statistically, and certainly seems to suggest that prefects are far from being rejected by the rest.

However, the July, 1957, sociograms show another feature which calls for a modification of this view. In all four age-sex groups, as indicated on diagrams 4 and 8, the prefects tended to be concentrated on one side, leaving a prefectless zone elsewhere. There could be many reasons for this, such as ability at one game, or movement of individuals from class to class; but it seems plausible to suggest that the lower-status children in the official hierarchy may drift together, as it were in self-defence. If so, it is not unlikely that they would reduce the actual votes given to the prefects without affecting their rank. It was clear from the sociomatrices that this had been the case at Balfour Road in the 'A' but not in the 'B' class. Among the 'A' boy prefects the mean loss of votes was 3.0, against a mean gain of 5.0 by non-prefects, giving a difference of 8 and a t-value of 2.17 which, with 13 degrees of freedom, is significant at the .05 level; comparable figures for the 'A' girls showed a similar trend but were not significant. It is tempting to speculate, despite the smallness of the sample, that the lesser lights in the class at the apex of the age-ability structure of a junior school react against the proximity of the prefects, and that the boys do so with greater assertiveness than the girls. This possibility deserves further study, especially as at Balfour Road, possibly owing to the very low numbers of prefects in 4B, it seemed that the greater the stability of status in the class as a whole, the *more* likely were the prefects to lose votes to the advantage of the rest of their age-sex group.

Meanwhile it was noticeable that among the 3B boys, after Christopher resigned as a prefect, the 'prefectless zone' coincided with the minority group, so that its 'opposition' status was confirmed. This gave an added interest to the study of the cleavage among the 3B boys, to whose investigation the second part of this report is devoted.

II. *The Investigation of a Concealed Cleavage*

Measurement

The first step in the analysis of the cleavage among the boys in 3B in 1955-56 was a measurement of its intensity. For this purpose Criswell's technique was used (Criswell 1939, 1943, 1944, 1950).

This depends, essentially, on two measures, a 'P.I.' or preference-index of the ratio of in-group to out-group choice, and a chi-squared calculation to show the probability-level at which this preference may be assessed. In both measures Criswell has avoided a number of statistical pitfalls and although her method is open to some criticism[8], it is adequate as a rough guide in the present case and in others on a comparable level of sophistication. The actual delineation of the two sub-groups of boys was easy except for one or two 'pivots' in the angle linking the majority with the minority. These 'pivots,' including one newcomer in June, were allocated according to the apparent indications from the three sociograms considered together. With the two sub-groups defined in this way, Criswell's technique yielded the results set out in Table IV.

TABLE IV

Cleavage between Boys' Sub-Groups in 3B, 1955-56

Sub-Group	Date	Number in Sub-Group	Total Out-Group Choices	P.I. (Criswell)	Chi-squared (Criswell: Yates' Correction)†
Larger	Sept., 1955	15	15	4.10	14.47
Larger	Jan., 1956	14	12	5.25	17.65
Larger	June, 1956	13	7	10.53	26.96
Smaller	Sept., 1955	7	22	4.37*	16.41
Smaller	Jan., 1956	7	25	3.55	12.38
Smaller	June, 1956	8	5	24.88	50.81

* Includes one or two choices directed to girls or omitted.
† All values of chi-squared (1 df) are significant at the .001 level.

These figures afford an impressive quantification of the graphical cleavage on the sociograms. Measurement of the intersex cleavage in 3B showed that it had been, from the boys' side, less intense in September and January (P.I. 14.00 and 18.20 respectively, with P well below .001) than the intrasex cleavage had become in June. That a cleavage within one sex should reach the intensity-level of intersex cleavages at this preadolescent period of strong sex-exclusiveness in sociometric choice (Moreno, 1955: Bronfenbrenner, 1945) gives some indication of its importance.

Analysis

Subsequent investigation of this cleavage was based on three hypotheses: (i) that overt signs of hostility between the two sub-groups would be evident; (ii) that the two sub-groups would remain intact during 1956-57; (iii) that the two sub-groups would differ

in respect of certain background data, from which a cause or causes of the cleavage might be deduced. The first of these hypotheses was soon shown to be false, for neither the staff nor the children seemed aware of any hostility between the sub-groups, although I gained an impression through conversation that the minority, at least, showed some group-consciousness. As the first hypothesis was untenable, a fourth was formulated, namely, that the cleavage was concealed, and perhaps partly subconscious. The fact that the minority seemed, if anything, more aware of it gave some support to this viewpoint, and so did the trend of figures in the Criswell analysis, for it is often noticed in studies of minorities that the in-group consciousness and self-preference of a minority intensifies as their cleavage from the majority deepens. Perhaps this tendency was reinforced after the minority became a 'prefectless zone.'

The fourth sociometric test in July, 1957, fully confirmed the second hypothesis, for in spite of the very great instability of status already mentioned in Section I (rho June 56/July 57 $= -.250$) the cleavage remained virtually unchanged, the minority again giving a P.I. of 24.88 (chi-squared 29.64). The class teacher of 4B in 1956-57 corroborated this by stating that she had observed different, though still not hostile, behaviour on the part of the two sub-groups. The fourth hypothesis also received some support from this sociometric test, and from the class teacher's observations, but it was not easy to make further interpretations of the 'concealment' of the cleavage without the information resulting from an examination of the third hypothesis. Comparison of the two sub-groups, using chi-squared and t-tests where possible, yielded the results embodied in Table V. Thus for this one group of boys, the third hypothesis was confirmed in respect of intelligence, place of residence, and patterns of leisure-time association, but not in respect of socio-economic differences, a result which has several important parallels in sociometric literature, but which serves to emphasise the inadequacy of attempting to explain social differentiation in primarily occupational terms.

In the summer of 1957, with the second hypothesis confirmed and partial confirmation established for the third and fourth, a final extension of the investigation was undertaken, based on a questionnaire, a composition and an informal discussion. The questionnaire, already mentioned in Section I, was on various aspects of the children's culture such as play-places, types of play, characteristics

TABLE V

3B Boys : Sub-Groups and Background Data

Type of Data	Majority Sub-Group	Minority Sub-Group	Observation
1. Intelligence Quotient (based broadly on LEA group test).	Mean (rounded) 105	Mean (rounded) 86	Difference : 19 $t=3.37$ $df=15$ P less than 0.01 *Significant*
2. Place of residence.	All lived on the north side of Balfour Road, mostly in houses built before 1914 except one 'pivot' and a more intelligent boy later transferred to the 'A' class.	All lived on a Corporation estate built south of Balfour Road since 1920, except two of very low I.Q. and one from a difficult home.	Clearly a decisive geographical division, not requiring statistical support.
3. Occupational status, estimated on Hall-Jones scale.*	Mean 4.9	Mean 5.3	Difference : 0.4 $t=1.02$ $df=18$ *Insignificant.*
4. Whether mother is at work.	7 out of 13.	2 out of 8.	By chi-squared test, *Insignificant.*
5. Attendance at Sunday School.	7 out of 13, none at Church 'X' ‡	3 out of 8, all at Church 'X'	By chi-squared test, *insignificant : but qualitatively different*
6. Membership of Cubs, etc.	1 Life Boy at Church 'X'; 8 Wolf Cubs at other churches, out of 13.	2 Life Boys out of 8, both at Church 'X'	Here again the *qualitative difference* emerges.
7. Friends out of school, mentioned in additions to sociometric test, June, 1956.	Mean number mentioned : 4.4.	Mean number mentioned : 1.0.	Difference : 3.4 $t=2.44$ $df=16$ P about 0.03 *Significant.*

* Hall and Jones, 1950.

‡ A small but flourishing denomination, with a long tradition in the district.

of best friends, how the respondent met his best friend, etc. Despite its rough-hewn nature, this questionnaire yielded a consistent and charmingly direct picture of the way of life of Balfour Road children; and in addition it indicated two ways in which the sub-groups differed. In response to the questions specified in Section I (p. 11), 100 per cent. of the majority answers and 13 out of 16 of the minority answers named members of their own group as best at both leading and helping the others; and of the three exceptions two were directed to a newcomer from 3A and only

one to the prefect Kevin. Again, the minority group appeared much more likely than the rest to claim that they would make their best friend happy by giving him presents, a procedure which, according to the class teacher, constituted a recognisable feature of their group life.

The composition was set by the class teacher herself, on 'My Thoughts about Changing School,' just before most of the children left Balfour Road for the nearby secondary modern school, and served to show the existence of a class 'we-feeling,' transcending, as it were, the hidden group-cleavage. For example, boys in both sub-groups expressed genuine regret that one of the minority who was younger than the rest would be staying at Balfour Road without them.

The informal discussion constituted my final attempt to interpret the cleavage by asking the boys directly about it. Two conversations, with apparently excellent rapport, were held with four 'majority' and four 'minority' boys respectively. Both groups cheerfully agreed after an interchange of glances, that the cleavage existed, but both seemed at a loss to account for it. Both said that the two sub-groups met separately for out-of-school play. As might be expected from the third and fourth hypotheses, the minority boys played a more restricted range of games but were more emphatic about their in-group solidarity.

Interpretation

So, in the end, the impression which remained was of two remarkably stable sub-groups, differing in respect of important background data but showing no mutual hostility and apparently regarding the cleavage between them as a relatively superficial matter. This 'social fact' could almost be described as an instance of peaceful co-existence. If it carried no further implications, then its investigation might well be regarded as an academic exercise meriting a somewhat cool reception from practising teachers. The importance of such an investigation could be established only if the subsequent history of the sub-groups could be traced and their mutual rejection shown to have definite consequences. Owing to the dispersion of these Balfour Road boys in their secondary school, further study in this case will be impracticable. In its absence one may only advance, not prove, an interpretation of the ascertained facts which could have more than superficial significance.

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It may well be that two sub-groups, differing basically in respect of intelligence and hence of 'social expansiveness' (Jennings 1950, Part II) and also living in separated habitats, would co-exist within the broader culture of a junior-school class, especially if the school worked hard to integrate its pupils socially, as was certainly the case at Balfour Road where the headmaster and the class teachers in both 3B and 4B were unusually alive to the social relations of children and to the value of positive interaction within the class. In any case, preadolescent children seem to have a special propensity for the annihilation of social distance, perhaps because more of their ego-involvement is invested in common than in divisive interests. It may well be, too, that in such circumstances the smaller group could develop 'minority' characteristics almost subconsciously, without causing any disruption of the culture of the boy-group as a whole. Yet a change in the social situation, especially if associated with value-changes during adolescence, might resuscitate the dormant cleavage and invest it with emotional toning, thus impelling peaceful co-existence to give place to cold war. There are indications that developments of this kind may be taking place in other groups in the main investigation. If so, sociometry will fulfil an important function in revealing the existence and the intensity of the cleavage while it is still concealed; and knowledge of the children's background will then afford indications of the way in which the cleavage may become apparent.

III. Summary and Conclusion

Practical Results

This report has indicated two specific ways in which sociometric techniques can be applied in a junior school; diagnostically, in the investigation of a cleavage in the informal social structure of a school, and operationally, in the selection of children to hold official positions in its formal structure when it is considered desirable for official status of this type to be introduced. Social acceptance as revealed through sociometric choice reinforces, at least in circumstances comparable with those at Balfour Road, the likelihood of acceptance based on general reputation in respect of adult-approved activities. Sociometry may also reveal the 'pivots,' the individuals whose influence is considerable although they do not attain to the top ranks of popularity or achievement. In both respects one may reasonably regard sociometry as superior to a direct vote. Again, as

an instrument of subsequent evaluation it may reveal unexpected consequences of prefect-choice; for example, children chosen for such official status may lose a proportion of their social pre-eminence. Meanwhile, a sociometric test may be the easiest way of exposing a latent cleavage which, in altered circumstances, might become overt, with consequent deterioration of the social climate of the class and probably the emergence of a discipline problem. The potential causes of such a cleavage may be exposed through an investigation of background data such as intelligence, place of residence, parental occupations, and leisure-time activity and association; and it seems possible that the greater the 'overlap' of these background differences, the more they will reinforce each other and the deeper the cleavage will be, and the greater the social danger to which it gives rise; but sociometry is required to delineate, in the first place, the groups between which the background comparisons are to be made.

Of course it is not suggested that sociometry is indispensable for prefect-choice or the handling of children in groups. Nor, for that matter, do I imply that a school should bask in sociality and promote no qualities except social harmony and social effectiveness. But I do maintain that sociometry affords an instrument which, with a very little initiation and a wealth of caution and common sense, a teacher can use effectively in situations such as those described in this report. I hope that a simplification and clarification of the relevant techniques may emerge from the large-scale study which is still in progress.

Theoretical Implications

Although the numbers involved were small and the limits of the study narrow, some speculation may be made on the significance of the Balfour Road results. First, the effects of prefecthood on the sociometric status of individuals and on the structure and distribution of groups indicate a field of study outside the usual laboratory experiments in leadership and group cohesiveness, because these effects are specific to particular social situations embedded in a field context and also depend essentially on considerable lapses of time. More light may be thrown on this issue in the course of the large-scale investigation. Meanwhile, the possible existence of such developments can serve as a warning against a too facile assumption that the group dynamics which can be tested

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under experimental conditions are in fact the main operative forces in real-life situations.

Perhaps the sociometric location of the concealed cleavage raises more important issues. Here was a 'social fact,' revealed by a method too statistically reliable to be illusory, whatever may be the logical problems to which it gives rise in detail. What is more, the cleavage lay across what many regard as *the* grain of society, for its correlates were those of general ability, habitat-difference and perhaps denominational and institutional loyalty rather than of occupational or other socio-economic criteria. These two sub-groups of young boys may exemplify what is becoming clear from many recent studies, namely, the subtlety of social differentiation in general, and the inadequacy of theoretical models based on one, or more, pre-selected major dimensions involving the temptation to disregard as trivial the phenomena which, according to the underlying hypotheses, 'ought' not to signify anything. Perhaps a clearer view of social structure in its informal aspects will emerge from the prior delineation of groups and their internal value-systems and the cleavages between them, with subsequent consideration of the interplay and relative importance of external factors which may be operative in social differentiation—occupational grade or type, subjective class, ecology and habitat, age, sex, religion, or indeed others indicated in the course of research.

So much for the structural aspect. Yet this cleavage at Balfour Road has also perhaps a significance for social dynamics. For at the time it was *concealed,* to outsiders and even in part to the boys themselves. It was lying dormant, like a line of geological discontinuity which for the time being gives rise to no distinctive feature in the landscape. Perhaps the small-group basis of society contains many such unrecognised instances of peaceful co-existence, liable to develop into cold or even hot war when internal or external circumstances alter. A possible reason for such alteration has been mentioned in the Balfour Road instance, namely, changes in values between childhood and adolescence; but there may be many others, whose elucidation would present another whole field for research into the dynamics of social distance.

If sociometry, or some outgrowth from sociometry, can help to delineate this small-group basis of society[9] and in the process to indicate social differences which are dormant but potentially divisive, then it will prove to be not only a valuable means of improving

the social climate of groups but also a research instrument of great theoretical value. This is admittedly a high claim for sociometric methods. Whether it is justified depends largely on the outcome of many careful small-scale investigations in limited environments, such as the classrooms of Balfour Road Junior School.

University of Manchester.

[1] The pseudonym will suggest the approximate age of the school.

[2] The conduct of the investigation and the preparation of this report were rendered possible by the generous and interested collaboration of the headmaster and staff. Their names are regretfully withheld, in order to preserve anonymity.

[3] This was particularly true at Balfour Road, where prefects were introduced for the first time in 1956-57.

[4] Owing to 'sociodynamic effect,' sociometric distributions are usually skewed and so product-moment correlations are not calculated.

[5] The test of 'viscosity,' though a valuable check, is not an indispensable part of the procedure described in this report.

[6] It should be mentioned that in 1956-57 the personnel of the previous 3A and 3B became 4A and 4B with only a few exceptions.

[7] The pattern of these questions was influenced by the 'Bavelas' technique. (Bavelas, 1942). Incidentally, concrete examples of co-operative situations were suggested when the test was administered.

[8] In a personal communication, Mrs. M. W. Riley, of the Department of Sociology, Rutgers University, N.J., has kindly indicated some of the remaining statistical objections.

[9] Suggestions of the relevance of sociometry as a corrective in studies of social stratification have often been made (e.g. Loomis et al., 1947). A clear statement of the basic importance of small groups in the social universe is given in the conclusion of a recent work which is already a classic. (Homans, 1951).

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THE DUAL SYSTEM AND THE PERFORMANCE
OF CHILDREN IN AN 11 PLUS EXAMINATION

Brother Gregory

I. *Introduction.*

In England it is now some eighty-five years since the Board Schools were set up alongside the voluntary schools and over half a century since both types of school came under the jurisdiction of the Local Education Authorities. This compromise in educational administration—known as the Dual System—has been the subject of much discussion which, however, has generally dealt with conscience, control and finance. Little attention has been paid to its educational implications. It is true that, since 1902, the standards in all schools publicly maintained have come under the scrutiny of the Board/Ministry of Education and of the Local Education Authorities. Yet it may be asked whether, in view of the financial difficulties under which the voluntary schools have continued to labour, standards in these schools have kept pace with developments in the Local Education Authority schools.

Some writers (e.g. Evennett[3]) have expressed satisfaction with the contribution of the voluntary schools to the national position; others (e.g. Beales[1]) have qualified their approval by raising doubts as to the full effectiveness of the voluntary schools. Yet others (e.g. Green[5]) have expressed the view that the Dual System should be abolished and all the schools integrated in one national system.

In all this writing, however, there has perhaps been too much general statement, too little detailed and documented evidence to support the different positions taken up. In particular, there has been an apparent reluctance to compare the Local Education Authority and the voluntary schools, a reluctance arising perhaps from a desire not to revive old quarrels and aggravate continuing tensions. And yet it seems undesirable to neglect so important an aspect of the educational scene as the existence of a dual system of school administration. This consideration is reinforced by a study of

the educational history of the county (as I shall now call the Local Education Authority schools) and voluntary schools. Not only have the voluntary schools continued to function in out-of-date buildings: there is also evidence to suggest that, on the average, they have catered for poorer social classes of children than have the county schools.

Now recent research (e.g. that of Floud[4]) has indicated that the results of the 11 plus Selection Examination, as a step to higher social and educational opportunity, are still closely related to social class. Moreover, recent studies on intelligence (e.g. Vernon[9] and Burt[2]) tend to show that measured intelligence, as expressed in I.Q., is at least partly determined by environmental factors, of which overcrowding, parental occupation (cf. Thomson,[8]) and family size (cf. Nisbet,[7]) have been shown to play an important part.

The dual system has been based on religious divisions: one is led to ask if these divisions are accompanied by any such corresponding differences in social class as the above-mentioned studies would suggest. If there are social class differences between the county and the voluntary schools, and if one accepts the evidence for the existence of important relationships between social class and educational opportunity, as determined, e.g. by the 11 plus Selection Examination, then the educational and social consequences of the dual system acquire a heightened significance.

II. *This Research.*

The purpose of the present study was to consider and evaluate some selection test results from the city of Salford in relation to intelligence and social background and with particular reference to the form of school control—County, Church of England or Roman Catholic. By setting these in the context of previous work and contemporary thinking about social and occupational class, intelligence testing and educational opportunity, it was hoped to throw some light on the problems raised above and to assess the accuracy of the criticisms often levelled against the dual system. Within strict limits, therefore, an attempt was made to face the educational consequences of arrangements which flow from religious sources that have their origins outside the schools, but which nevertheless affect the daily lives, for good or ill, of all the children.

From the long-term point of view, such arrangements may be calculated to have important social and educational consequences.

It was with the purpose of providing some detailed evidence on this matter that the present study was undertaken.

This research was carried out in the County Borough of Salford, an industrial city of approximately 178,000 people, of whom 32,000 (or about 18%) are Roman Catholics. From being a small township in the eighteenth century, Salford developed in the nineteenth into a congested industrial area of mean streets and rather drab houses clustering round numerous factories, railway marshalling yards and along the Manchester Ship Canal. The twentieth century has seen a movement of population from the central area outwards to newer suburbs and considerable emigration from the city to other districts. Thus, in the twenty-year period 1931-1951 the population of Salford declined by 20% (c.f. [10]). A recent study by Dr. J. H. Lee, summarised in the *Manchester Guardian* (November 16, 1956) concludes that this emigration is a factor in the lowering of the city's intelligence, which was found on average to be 94.6 I.Q. Migration within the city and emigration to other areas may have had differential effects on the social and intellectual class composition of the children attending the various schools; hence for this and other reasons, Salford may not be a typical example of industrial England in particular or of the country as a whole. Hence, the conclusions of this study must be regarded with reserve; further studies in analagous and contrasted areas would be required before firm answers could be given to many of the questions raised above.

Within the County Borough of Salford, there were, in the period 1947-1953, sixty publicly maintained schools presenting children for the 11 plus Selection Examination; of these schools, 22 were county, 25 Church of England and 13 were Roman Catholic. In the seven-year period, 15,014 children from these schools sat for the Selection Examination, and their results form the basis of the present study.

III. *Data and Methods.*

Data for this study were derived from three sources: the files of the Salford Education Authority were used to furnish evidence as to the performance of children at the 11 plus Selection Examination; ratings for schools buildings and the home backgrounds of children were made by five observers; details of family size and parental occupations were obtained from nine sample schools.

The 11 plus Selection Test results for the years 1947-1953, abstracted from the Salford Education Authority files, were used for

two purposes: (a) to establish a percentage performance by schools, social areas and types of management, of above-borderline admissions to Grammar schools; (b) to reach an average I.Q., by schools, for all the children who sat for the examination in the period studied.

Five observers were asked to rate all the schools concerned in this study. These ratings were made on a five point (A to E) scale and related to:

(i) the average home background of the children in attendance at each school,

(ii) the suitability of the school buildings.

The ratings for (ii), which correlated highly with those for (i), were not used in the main part of this study and do not appear in the statistical tables below. They are, however, referred to in the general conclusions. The literal ratings for home backgrounds were converted to numerical equivalents and summed (the ratings made by the various observers being found to correlate highly: $r = 0.75$). On the basis of these summed ratings, schools were classified into three social groups, Group I being the most desirable and Group III the least desirable.

In a supplementary study of these social groups, nine sample schools—one County, one Church of England and one Roman Catholic from each group—were asked to furnish the parental occupations and the family size for all the children in the 11 plus age-group (1956). This information is referred to in the general discussion on the findings of this research.

Since, during the period studied, more Grammar school places were available in Salford for girls than for boys, and since the relative distribution of boys and girls, as between the various schools, areas and types of management, was not necessarily identical, the results for boys and girls were considered separately.

The data used, therefore, in the main part of this research consisted of:

(a) the percentage results of grammar school admissions in terms of the total numbers of children who sat for the examination in the years 1947-1953—borderline candidates and children from private schools being omitted.

(b) the I.Q. category for each school ('A': above average; 'B': below average).

(c) the social category of each school, based on the combined ratings.

(d) the type of control: viz. County, Church of England, Roman
Catholic, called Management Group in this study.

(e) the sex of the children.

The data available in regard to each school—social grouping,
management and average intelligence—were inter-related, for boys
and girls separately, in terms of 11 plus performance, by a series of
cross tabulations. A few of these tables are given below (IV) in a
statement of the results. The percentage differences were first con-
sidered in terms of a single factor: social groupings, average
intelligence, management; then they were considered in terms of two
factors: social grouping and intelligence, social grouping and
management, intelligence and management; finally they were con-
sidered in terms of all three factors. The relations between the
variables were examined for significance by the 't' test, which was
applied to the differences between the percentages appearing in the
various tables.

IV. *Statement of Results.*

Performance and Social Groups.

On the basis of the three social groups derived from the ratings
for home background referred to above (III), clear differences in
11 performance were found, as shown in Table I.

TABLE I.
*Percentage of Grammar School Places
classified according to Social Groups*

		Group I.	Group II.	Group III.
(a) Boys:	...	12.843 (14)	3.441 (15)	2.241 (20)
(b) Girls:	...	23.269 (14)	8.683 (15)	4.774 (19)

The figures in brackets above refer to the number of school depart-
ments upon which the percentages are based. It will be noticed that
the percentage results are higher in the corresponding categories for
girls than for boys. This is because, as previously explained, there
were more places available in Grammar schools for girls than for
boys.

As is clear from the above table, there was a clear stratification of
performance by social grouping. With one exception, the percentage
differences between the above groups, for boys and girls, were found
to be significant at the 1% level, the difference between Groups II
and III (Boys) being significant at the 5% level.

It is to be noted also that approximately one third of the children

were represented in each of the three social groups. It is therefore clear that the total number of children from Social Group I gaining admission to Grammar Schools is relatively, as well as proportionately to the numbers presented, much greater than those from Groups II and III.

Performance and Intelligence.

Schools with above average intelligence for all those presented showed much better 11 plus performance than schools with below average intelligence. Thus, among the boys, 20 schools of above average intelligence had a 10.394% above-borderline admission to Grammar schools, while 29 schools of below average intelligence had a 2.537% admission. Likewise, among the girls, the corresponding figures were: 23 schools with 18.974% admission and 25 schools with a 4.493% admission. It is true that these I.Q.s entered into total performance; thus, we should expect schools with low average I.Q. to show poor overall performance. The point to note, however, is that, as a study of the records showed, schools with a low average I.Q. rarely—if ever—had pupils of exceptional intelligence. Various factors may account for this. One possible cause is the migration of the more intelligent from the less desirable social areas; there is thus a concentration of different strata of intelligence in separate areas. It may also be due to an environmental depressing influence on, for example, vocabulary, or to the adverse effect on some bright child of being in a backward class where his potential goes un-recognised.

Further light was thrown on this question by considering social grouping and intelligence together in relation to performance. This showed that the majority of children in Group I had an I.Q. above normal and scored well in 11 plus performance; that in social Group II, they were pretty evenly divided and scored moderately, while in Group III, the majority of schools belonged to the 'B' category of intelligence and did badly. Thus, at the extremes, we have schools in the 'A' category of intelligence belonging to Social Group I, with relatively outstanding performance and others in the 'B' category of Group III, with relatively poor performance. The conjunction of 'best' social areas with above average intelligence thus provides a vivid contrast with the 'worst' social area and below average intelligence. Some reference to the significance of this matter is made below (V).

Performance and Management.

The performance of children in County, Church of England and Catholic Schools is shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2.

Percentage of Grammar School Places
classified according to Management

		County	Church of England	R. Catholic
(a)	Boys: ...	7.811 (18)	4.953 (21)	2.635 (10)
(b)	Girls: ...	14.49 (17)	9.835 (21)	9.375 (10)

Table 3 shows that, when social grouping and intelligence are ignored, the county schools are superior in performance to the voluntary schools. This superiority was found to be in all cases significant at the 1% level. There were no overall significant differences between the Church of England and the Catholic schools, though the Roman Catholic boys did relatively much less well than did the girls.

The margin of advantage of the County over the Church of England schools is similar for boys and girls. It is also to be noted that, despite being fewer in number than the Church of England schools, the County schools had more pupils: 6,792 as against 4,860. When their percentage superiority is remembered, it is clear that a far greater number proceed to Grammar schools than do pupils from the Church of England schools.

This overall superiority, however, may be viewed differently when we consider it in conjunction with social grouping and average intelligence. It then appears that the performance of the voluntary schools is relatively good. Table 3, which incorporates all the details considered in the statistical part of this study, illustrates this:

TABLE 3.

Percentage of Grammar School Places classified according to
Social Groups, Intelligence and Management Groups.

(a) Boys:	Social Group I.		Social Group II.		Social Group III.	
	I.Q. 'A'	I.Q. 'B'	I.Q.'A'	I.Q.'B'	I.Q.'A'	I.Q. 'B'
County	13.78 (8)	—	4.666(5)	—	—	1.405(5)
Church of England	15.254(4)	3.877(1)	4.358(2)	3.051(4)	4.545(1)	1.513(9)
Roman Catholic	—	4.687(1)	—	2.503(4)	—	2.331(5)

(b) Girls:	Social Group I.		Social Group II.		Social Group III.	
	I.Q. 'A'	I.Q. 'B'	I.Q.'A'	I.Q.'B'	I.Q.'A'	I.Q. 'B'
County	25.446(7)	8.602(1)	10.596(3)	3.482(3)	—	4.492(4)
Church of England	25.024(5)	—	12.257(2)	5.934(4)	11.77 (1)	2.37 (9)
Roman Catholic	13.93 (1)	—	17.3 (1)	8.628(3)	11.262(3)	1.423(2)

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Table 3 shows that, when the average intelligence of schools and their social rating are considered together with management, the differences between the County and the voluntary schools are much less striking. There are no significant differences in the above table as between the boys in corresponding categories. Among the girls, the Roman Catholic schools are inferior significantly in Groups I and III (I.Q. 'B') to the County and Church of England schools; in Group II, the Roman Catholic schools are superior. The differences between the County and the Church of England schools are, with one exception (Girls: Group II, 'B') not significant.

It will be noted from the bracketed figures in the above table that, whereas nearly half the County schools are in Social Group I, nearly half the Church of England and Roman Catholic schools are in Group III. The great obvious difference between the County and the voluntary schools was found to lie in the social background and average intelligence of the children. In both respects the County schools were superior. This would help to account somewhat for their striking overall performance shown in Table 2.

It will be clear from Table 3 that there was no Roman Catholic school where the boys showed above average I.Q., as established at the 11 plus Selection Examination. In contrast, the Roman Catholic girls in five schools (three of which were separate departments) showed above average I.Q. and achieved correspondingly good overall performance.

V. *Commentary and Conclusion.*

The 11 plus Selection test results for seven total age-groups attending publicly maintained schools in Salford form the basis of the statistical calculations for the present study. It can therefore be said that the conclusions reached are based on a good deal of evidence. On the other hand, by confining the study to a single County Borough, one is forced to accept the possibly unrepresentative nature of the area selected. Further, within the area, as in the present case, the different groups studied—e.g. County, Church of England and Roman Catholic schools—may not give results comparable with those that would be obtained by sampling different areas. In this research, for example, only one Roman Catholic school is found in Social Group I, a fact interesting in itself, but which nevertheless limits the usefulness of certain comparisons. Again, in a study of schools in London, Kemp[6] found that children in voluntary

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schools came from homes of higher socio-economic status than those in County schools. That the opposite is found to be largely true in Salford only reminds us of the necessity of caution in generalising from a single study.

The postulate of three Social Groups, based on the ratings referred to above, was arbitrary; they do not necessarily correspond to any inherent social divisions. However, it is evident from the tables that the percentage results obtained by the schools in the various social groups were sufficiently distinct as to seem to support the separation made. This was true both of the averaged results and of the detailed school results. The average I.Q. of the schools (cf. Table 3) and the details for family size and parental occupations for the sample schools also corresponded to the social groupings employed.

This study was undertaken to see if there were differences in the proportion of children from County, Church of England and Roman Catholic schools selected for admission to Grammar schools. In a given County Borough, such as Salford, however, there is a common Selection Examination, on the basis of which, irrespective of schools or areas, the secondary education of pupils is decided. If, therefore, differences in the proportion of admissions to Grammar schools were found to exist, it was supposed that such factors as home background and degree of adequacy of school provision at the primary level might be important contributory factors; it was also supposed that the cultural and religious history of the County and voluntary schools might throw some light on any differences that might be found to exist among them.

The history of Salford showed a small town becoming rapidly a congested industrial area with a numerous element of Irish Roman Catholic immigrants settled mostly in the poorer districts. The development of the Board—later Council and then County—schools corresponded to a period of gradual amelioration in the lot of the Salford working-class people. Whereas the voluntary schools are to be found, for the most part, in the older and less desirable districts, the County schools tend to be situated in the outer and more spacious areas of later development. Thus has grown up in Salford, as in other industrial cities, sharp contrasts between the present environments of children taking a common entrance examination for Grammar schools.

Given these commonly observed differences in children's home background, one proceeds to ask whether—and to what extent—they

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are responsible for any differences observed in children's performance. Do they cause varied performance, or only accompany it? In this connection, a number of factors have been considered. One is that cities tend to be stratified along occupational and class lines. A brief investigation of nine sample schools confirmed this for Salford, and also showed that, in comparable geographical areas, there were only small occupational differences between families sending their children to County, Church of England and Roman Catholic schools.

Associated with occupational distinctions are differences in size of families. It has been commonly found[11] that the higher the social class, the fewer the number of children and vice versa; further, the fewer the number of children, the higher the I.Q. This diminution in size of family with rise in class was also found to obtain in Salford, except among the Roman Catholics, where the usual trend was absent. In Salford, too, the average I.Q. results showed a variation along geographical and occupational lines, though the relatively good performance of the Roman Catholic children in Social Groups II and III complicates this picture.

With some reservations, therefore, one may say that higher social grouping, as defined in this study, is associated with above average intelligence, though possibly complicated by famly size and also by differential migration from the poorer social areas. The precise relationships between these factors, however, is less easy to determine. The answer suggested by all the evidence considered in this research leads one to propose the following: residence in a 'better-class' social area is both a concomitant of higher intelligence and a cause of good performance in intelligence tests, especially those of the verbal type. As Vernon[9] has lately pointed out, verbal-type tests draw largely on the quality of the child's environment. Nisbet[7] in dealing with certain aspects of the Scottish Mental Survey[11] has produced evidence to suggest strong links between family size and quality and range of speech and vocabulary, which partly determine I.Q. results.

The evidence provided by the present study shows that the 11 plus Selection test results vary along geographical and class lines, but less so among the Roman Catholics where there is little uniformity of result. Two facts found in the supplementary sample study may help to account for this departure from the usual pattern: the fact that the Roman Catholic families were uniformly larger than either the County or the Church of England families and showed little variation in size as between the three social groups; secondly

the fact that, in Social Groups II and III, the class composition of the Roman Catholic families, as determined by occupation, was somewhat higher than that of the corresponding County and Church of England families. The explanation suggested for this latter finding is that, in the poorer social districts, a relatively large number of the Roman Catholic families have remained linked to an older pattern of parish structure and distribution.

One may conclude that the present study provides no evidence, when social grouping and intelligence are considered together with management, to suggest wide divergencies between the different types of schools. The County schools are better placed, in better buildings, than the voluntary schools and have, on the whole, more intelligent children, as determined by the 11 plus Selection Examination. As Table 3 shows, however, when the County and voluntary schools are compared in terms of social background and average school intelligence, the differences in 11 plus performance are slightly in favour of the voluntary schools. These differences, however, are not sufficiently marked as to form the basis for any firm conclusions. In the poorer social groups, the Roman Catholic schools show results very similar to those of the Church of England, but in the area studied as a whole are less good.

It is suggested that further studies might profitably be undertaken wherein the Dual System would be considered in conjunction with the relationships between intelligence, social background and school performance. The selection of contrasted areas might increase the value of such research.

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[1] Beales, A. C. F.:	In Beck, G. A. (edit.): *The English Catholics 1850-1950*, London: Burns Oates, 1950, pp. xix + 640.
[2] Burt, C.:	'The evidence for the concept of intelligence,' *Brit. J. of Educ. Psychol.* 1955, 25, iii, pp. 158-177.
[3] Evennett, H. O.:	*The Catholic Schools of England and Wales*, Cambridge University Press, 1944, pp. ix + 141.
[4] Floud, J.:	In Glass, D. V. (edit.): *Social Mobility in Britain*, London: Gollancz, 1954, pp. viii + 412.

THE FOUR LABOUR CABINETS

Jean Bonnor

With the election of the Labour Party to office in 1924, it seemed to many people in this country that the traditional ruling class had been deprived of one of the most important buttresses of its power: its control over the formation of the government. Egalitarians and social reformers hoped that this portended the beginning of a new age of government by the people. Certainly some immediate and drastic changes in social composition were made in the formation of the 1924 Government; but the question whether these changes were to be the first of many, or whether, in themselves they set the outer limits of the social revolution, was left for the future.

It is now possible to look back on four Labour Governments, and to see what has happened since 1924. Some studies already made have provided information about the Cabinets of 1924 and 1929;[1] this study is of the members of all four governments, 1924, 1929-31, 1945-50 and 1950-51, attention being confined to Cabinet Ministers for the sake of manageability of the numbers—in all, 61 Cabinet Ministers, 59 men and 2 women.

In assessing the extent to which Labour Ministries extended participation in government to all classes of society, three characteristics of the Cabinet Ministers' social backgrounds are of obvious importance: their social origin, education and occupations before entering parliament. Social origin has been judged from the occupations of the fathers of the Cabinet Ministers, with the exception of one category—the highest, or upper class. Here, membership has been decided on the basis of possession of a hereditary title by one grandparent, in order to distinguish the members of families of high-standing over a long period from those of families newly risen. This distinction was considered particularly important in a study of institutional and social change, to show the part played

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in the leadership of a self-styled Socialist party by members of the established hereditary aristocracy, who, of all classes, might be thought to have the biggest reasons for opposing such a party. The other five categories of social origin are Upper-middle (higher professional, or wealthy businessmen), Middle (intermediate professional, less wealthy businessmen), Lower-middle (minor professional, small independent businessmen), Upper-working (skilled manual workers) and Lower-working (unskilled manual workers).[2] This scale has no statistical basis. It was found to work well in this study because the number of subjects was small, and the social distinctions between them were· clear-cut and obvious.

When the Cabinet of 1924 was formed, much of the immediate criticism from Labour supporters was concerned with its social class composition. Since the introduction of the new constitution in 1918, the Labour Party had worked hard for recognition as a party representing all classes, and it would have been out of keeping with this claim for the Cabinet to have been made up entirely of men of humble social origin. Nevertheless, reformist critics felt justified in complaining at the fact that no fewer than eight out of twenty Ministers in the first Labour Cabinet were members of the upper and upper-middle classes. Even the parliamentary columnist of the Liberal *Nation* commented of the new Labour Government that 'The Trade Unionists and the Glasgow Reds seem alike to have been battened down and the bulk of its members to consist of wealthy and comfortable individuals who are neither Socialists nor have had any direct experience of the life of the poor . . . '[3] Opponents of social change, however, observing that half of the Cabinet Ministers were from the lower-working class, feared for the future of an institution which had hitherto been almost exclusively the province of the higher social classes. As Professor Laski pointed out, apart from John Burns and Arthur Henderson, no member of any Cabinet previous to the Labour Cabinet of 1924 was the son of a working man.[4]

Any fears of government by the proletariat were largely unjustified, as the study of subsequent Labour Cabinets shows. It can be seen from the following table that whilst the upper class members have disappeared from the latest Cabinet, the lower working class proportion has been nearly halved. The strongest single group is the upper middle class, the middle class as a whole accounting for 13 out of 22, or 59% of the Cabinet membership.

TABLE I

Social Origin of Labour Cabinet Ministers.

Social Class

Cabinet	Lower Working No.	%	Upper Working No.	%	Lower Middle No.	%	Middle No.	%	Upper Middle No.	%	Upper No.	%	Total No.	%
1924	10	50	1	5	1	5	–	–	4	20	4	20	20	100
1929	8	32	4	16	4	16	1	4	6	24	2	8	25	100
1945	9	33	4	15	5	18	1	4	7	26	1	4	27	100
1950	6	27	3	14	4	18	2	9	7	32	–	–	22	100
Tot. No. in each Class	20		8		9		2		17		5		61	

If we consider the middle, upper-middle and upper classes as 'the old governing class' of which Beatrice Webb often spoke, it can be seen that the proportion of seats held by this class was the same in 1950 as in 1924.

As far as the social origin of members of Cabinets is concerned, therefore, the new era hoped for by some and feared by others after the Labour victory of 1924 has not yet arrived. The proportion of Cabinet Ministers from the working class—small enough, in 1924, the reformers thought—has been reduced from 55% to 41%. There has been an increase from 5% to 18% of lower middle class members, but 'the old governing class,' shorn of its aristocratic layer it is true, is seen to maintain a considerable hold on the seats of power when Labour governs.

As would be expected, these features of social origin have a parallel in the educational backgrounds of Ministers. In the country generally, an important social division exists between those educated in public schools and those educated in state schools. In 1924, 40% of Ministers had been educated at preparatory and public schools, whilst 55% had had no more than a state elementary education. By 1950, the elementary school group was reduced to 41%, a further 18% having achieved secondary education through the scholarship system in state schools. The public school group, however, remained almost stationary at 41%. (In the intervening Cabinets the public school proportion was lower—see Table II). The fact that the public school group has regained its 1924 proportion of Cabinet seats is more or less implicit in the information already given about social origin. An educational analysis of this sort,

however, can be linked with the one carried out by J. F. S. Ross[5] into the educational backgrounds of all M.P.'s from 1918 to 1951; in particular with the information he gives about Labour M.P.'s. In 1951, the proportion of Labour M.P.'s educated at public schools was 23%, two-and-a-half times the inter-war average of 9%. On the other hand, the proportion of those with secondary school education was 26% in 1951 compared with an inter-war average of 15½%—a little under twice as great. Although the number educated in secondary schools, in the Parliamentary Labour Party, is absolutely larger than the number educated in public schools, the relatively larger increase in the numbers of the public school group suggests that, other things being equal, this group may increase its proportion of seats in future Labour Cabinets.

TABLE II

Type of school attended by Labour Cabinet Ministers.

Type of School	Cabinet									
	1924		1929		1945		1950		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Elementary only	11	55	12	48	14	52	9	41	28	46
Elementary and Secondary	–	–	2	8	4	15	4	18	7	11
Preparatory and Public	8	40	7	28	8	29	9	41	22	36
Other	1	5	3	12	–	–	–	–	3	5
Not known	–	–	1	4	1	4	–	–	1	2
Total ...	20	100	25	100	27	100	22	100	61	100

This is of great interest in considering the influence of institutions on social change. If the Labour Party continues, in its policy statements, to defer the question of a major reform of the public school system,[6] the reason might be found here. On the other hand, it may introduce reforms the more effective and far-reaching because its Cabinets contain a good proportion of men of public school education, who want the benefits of this type of education to be spread more widely throughout the population, and know from personal experience what these benefits are. In that case, the public school system, as an educational institution closely integrated with the institution of social class, will have failed in its function of preserving the class system from rapid and radical change. Thus the presence of public school men in Labour Cabinets offers a particularly interesting situation for the attention of sociologists and educationists.

The Four Labour Cabinets

In the Labour Party, social differences based on type of school education may be less important than differences of intellectual achievement resulting from attendance at a university. (Such was certainly the opinion of one university- but non-public school-educated Minister with whom I discussed the matter, although another Cabinet Minister of similar educational background, considered that public school education constituted the more important of these two dividing lines within the Parliamentary Labour Party). To some extent, the scholarship system and the establishment of Ruskin College has modified the differences of social origin between those educated at a university and those not, as the figures in Table III indicate: (attendance at the Labour College is included).

TABLE III

Higher education of Labour Cabinet Ministers.

Cabinet	University	Social Class Lower	Higher	Total	% of Cabinet
1924	Oxford Cambridge Other	 1	3 2 1	3 2 2	7 or 35%
1929	Oxford Cambridge Other	 4	3 2 3	3 2 7	12 or 48%
1945	Oxford Cambridge Other	1 1 2 (+2)*	2 4 3	3 5 7	15 or 56%
1950	Oxford Cambridge Other	1 1 1 (+2)†	4 2 2	5 3 5	13 or 59%
Total	Oxford Cambridge Total	1 1 6 (+3)‡	9 7 5	10 8 14	32 or 52%
Total in each class		11	21		

* A. Bevan went to the Labour College, London ; J. J. Lawson went to Ruskin College, Oxford.

† A. Bevan and J. Griffiths went to the Labour College.

‡ Including the three above Ministers.

The continued predominance of Oxford and Cambridge is noteworthy (another feature which would be expected from the social composition). Professor Laski remarked in the 1920's: 'It is notable that, except for Mr. Neville Chamberlain's brief attendance at Birmingham, no Cabinet Minister has yet been produced by one

of the newer universities."[7] Subsequent Labour Cabinets have included only two Ministers from a newer university, Arthur Greenwood and Ellen Wilkinson, both from Manchester. Again, within the Labour Party, this may be of little social, if of some sociological interest.

Considering education as a whole, for its significance apart from associations with social class, the important development in Labour Cabinets over the past quarter of a century is the great improvement in educational standard reached by Labour Cabinet Ministers, an improvement which is, of course, a consequence of improvement in the country generally.

The occupations of Labour Cabinet Ministers before their first successful Labour candidature or entry into the House of Lords show little significant change between 1924 and 1950, apart from the rise of a new group, university lecturers, from 1929. This group may prove to be the Labour Party counterpart to the numerically strongest professional group in Cabinets of other parties—namely lawyers: in the last Labour Cabinet the university lecturers outnumbered the lawyers by two to one. However, lawyers may yet predominate in future Labour Cabinets also, following a big increase in their number entering the House as Labour M.P.'s after 1945. Ross has shown that among Labour M.P.'s in 1951 there were 26 barristers and 10 solicitors, compared with an inter-war average of 4 and 1 respectively.[8]

TABLE IV

Former occupations of Labour Cabinet Ministers.

Occupation		1924	1929	1945	1950	Total
Trade Union Office	...	6	6	9	8	18
University Lecturing	...	–	3	6	6	9
Law		3	3	2	3	8
Political work Organisation		1	3	4	2	5
Propaganda		2	1	–	–	2
Journalism		1	4	–	1	5
Business Executive Higher		1	1	–	1	2
Lower		1	–	–	–	1
Parliament (Liberal M.P.)...		1	2	1	–	2
Civil Service		2	–	–	–	2
Administration		–	–	2	–	2
Coal-mining		–	–	2	1	2
Army		1	1	–	–	1
Social work		–	–	1	–	1
Research		1	1	–	–	1
Total		20	25	27	22	61

The Four Labour Cabinets

As might be expected, the largest single occupational group in Labour Cabinets has been that of trade union official; in the four Cabinets trade union officials numbered 6, 6, 9 and 8 respectively (see Table IV).

This consistency of trade union representation bears out a forecast made by Beatrice Webb in 1930.[9] She wrote of the suggestion then being made in Labour circles that the bourgeois and aristocratic recruits to the Labour Party, then only lately having begun to come in in any number, would increase in influence to the extent of eventual dominance. On the other hand, she continued, '. . . against the permeation of Labour Cabinets by the bourgeois and the aristocracy there is a solid obstacle in the trade union basis of the Labour Party . . . the Labour Prime Minister in the twentieth century will find it necessary to include in his administration the president or General Secretary or other official of the miners, the cotton operatives, railwaymen, shop assistants, or other dominant industry, together with the representatives of the Consumers' Co-operative Movement.' This has certainly been so. The Co-operative Movement, the miners and the general workers have been represented[10] throughout, whilst U.S.D.A.W. and N.A.T.S.O.P.A. made their appearance after 1945 with the appointments of Ellen Wilkinson, Alfred Robens and George Isaacs. The cotton workers had Tom Shaw in the first two Cabinets and George Tomlinson after 1947. However, an interesting development has been a change in the social class of some of the trade union Cabinet Ministers. Whereas in the first Labour Cabinet, all six of the trade union officials belonged to the lower working class, in the 1950 Cabinet three officials out of eight were of lower middle class origin.

TABLE V

Social origin of Trade Union Officials and ex-Officials in Labour Cabinets.

			Social origin		
Cabinet			Lower Working Class	Upper Working Class	Lower Middle Class
1924	...	...	6	–	–
1929	...	...	5	1	–
1945	...	...	7	–	2
1950	...	...	4	1	3
Total ...	...		13	2	3

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These figures are too small for much to be inferred from them; but they suggest that although the solid obstacle of the trade union basis of the Labour Party may be enough to prevent the domination of Cabinets by members of the middle and upper classes, in itself it is no guarantee of working class representation.

It would be expected that Labour Cabinets would introduce a greater diversity of occupational experience into the ruling governmental groups than had appeared before. But because recruitment of Cabinet Ministers from the lower social classes has been somewhat limited, and because most of these have been trade union officials, in fact few occupations are to be found in Table IV which have not already appeared in the lists of occupations of members of other parties' Cabinets. (Of course, most of the trade union officials had followed manual occupations before becoming officials, and so brought occupational experience of varying kinds to their Cabinet offices). The category of political organiser and propagandist is new, and reflects the social history of the Labour Party—a party which first developed outside Parliament, and in which organisation and propagandist activities were prior to representational ones. The old type of travelling propagandist work for the Independent Labour Party, of men like Philip Snowden and Fred Jowett, declined in importance with the rise of mass communications, with the consequence that propaganda has become largely a matter of organisation —an affair of public relations officers, news letters, week-end speeches by well known M.P.'s, radio discussion and television appearances. In such matters the older parties are equally concerned with the Labour Party, and the category of political organiser is now to be found in their lists as well.

The only other new categories are those of coal miner (J. J. Lawson and Tom Williams) research worker (Sidney Webb) and social worker (Lord Listowe though perhaps it should be pointed out that the two Cabinet Ministers engaged in administration worked for non profit-making organisations—A. Creech Jones in the Workers' Travel Association, and Lord Inman as Chairman of Charing Cross Hospital. On the whole, the facts of parliamentary life in England—in particular the low salaries and frequent elections, making it important to have either a private income or an occupation which can be combined with parliamentary work and resumed after an electoral defeat—limit severely the occupational categories from which M.P.'s are drawn.

Since there have been few changes in the former occupations of Labour Cabinet Ministers between 1924 and 1950, the main points of interest arising out of a study of their occupations are to be found in comparisons with previous Cabinets of other parties. The significant differences are first, the much larger proportion of Labour Cabinet Ministers dependent on earned rather than unearned income, and secondly the changes in the sizes of the occupational categories. Professor Laski found that of the 306 men who held Cabinet office between 1801 and 1924 (his study includes the first Labour Cabinet) only 30% were 'dependent on their own efforts for a livelihood.'[11] This is a rather vague formulation, but it seems safe to say in comparison that 85% of Labour Cabinet Ministers lived mainly on earned income, a fact which is of course to some extent a reflection of taxation and social policy in recent years, but which nevertheless shows clearly how great a difference of outlook the Labour Cabinet Ministers must have brought to their political offices, from that of most of their predecessors.

The main changes in size of occupational categories are in those of trade union official and university lecturer. Before 1924, only three trade unionists had held Cabinet office. In Labour's four Cabinets, there were 18 trade union officials. Before 1924, only one 'academic' had held Cabinet office.[12] In Labour's four Cabinets there were nine university lecturers whilst in addition Lord Addison, Sidney Webb, F. Lees-Smith and Sir Hartley Shawcross had been university lecturers at an earlier stage in their careers, Arthur Woodburn had been a lecturer for the National Council of Labour Colleges, and J. Chuter Ede had been a schoolteacher. Thus these two categories, with the lawyers, journalists and political workers have provided the majority of Labour's Cabinet Ministers, illustrating the point made earlier about the facts of parliamentary life. Since so small a proportion of Labour Cabinet Ministers have been able to rely entirely on unearned income, they have been largely drawn from those occupations which can be continued side-by-side with, or intermittently with a political career.

A final point of sociological interest which has emerged from this study of the social backgrounds of Labour Cabinet Ministers concerns their families' interest in public service. In the past, this has traditionally been undertaken by many families in the upper and upper middle classes. It may not be widely realised that such service has also been given, often for several generations, by families in the lower classes.

Quite a high proportion of Labour Cabinet Ministers came from such families. Information is available for only 35 out of the 61 Cabinet Ministers, but of these 35, unpaid public service was undertaken by 26 of the families, 15 of whom belonged to the lower classes. Of course, the type of service varied greatly according to social class. At the upper level, for instance, Lord Noel-Buxton's grandfather worked with Wilberforce for the abolition of slavery, and was buried in Westminster Abbey as a tribute to his achievements. In other cases, fathers and grandfathers were prominent and active members of county councils—as with Hugh Dalton, Philip Noel-Baker and Lord Stansgate: or members of the bench—as with Lord Parmoor. Lord Pethick-Lawrence's grandfather was an Alderman and Sheriff of the City of London; two uncles served as Lord Mayors of London. Among the lower classes, the families of William Graham and J. Chuter Ede had records of public service in local government which went back for four generations. Members of other families of the lower classes served on Boards of Guardians, Vestries or Parish Councils, as with James Griffiths and Sidney Webb. Ellen Wilkinson's father was a Wesleyan local preacher, Philip Snowden's, a Sunday School superintendent. Even though these positions were not as socially important and influential as those occupied by members of the higher classes, they were the positions of local leadership, and earned for their holders the respect and confidence of their neighbours.

The conclusions to be drawn from this study of Labour Cabinet Ministers are, first, that there has been a decline in the numbers of Ministers from the highest and lowest social classes, and an increasing proportion of those from the middle classes, particularly the upper middle class. Alongside this is the possibility that trade-union officials may be drawn more, in the future, from the higher groups of the lower class than from the lower. It thus appears that, in class structure, Labour Cabinets have increasingly resembled Cabinets formed by other parties over much the same period,[13] in spite of the marked contrast between the Cabinet of 1924 and earlier Cabinets. This may be taken as some evidence of the 'embourgeoisement' of the Labour Party, a trend noted by Michels[14] to be characteristic of social democratic parties, and one which, as far as Cabinets are concerned, has militated against the further widening of the opportunity for members of all social classes to

participate in government.

Secondly, the standard of education of Labour Cabinet Ministers of the lower class in the Cabinets after 1924 has improved considerably as a result of the scholarship system, and the work of Ruskin and the Labour Colleges.

Thirdly, a continuing high proportion of Labour Cabinet Ministers has come from those with public school education, in spite of the improvements in the state system and the increased opportunity for university education of those from state schools, by means of grants and scholarships.

Fourthly, the list of occupations in which Labour Cabinet Ministers were previously engaged is not markedly more varied than that characteristic of earlier Cabinets. Labour Cabinets differ from their predecessors, however, in drawing the majority of their members from the occupations of trade union official, university lecturer, lawyer, political worker and journalist.

Finally, an example of unpaid public service to the community was set by families of Ministers from the lower class as much as by those of Ministers from the higher class. This suggests that in taking up political work, some Labour Ministers of the lower class have been following a family tradition in a way that is familiar to us in the histories of the higher classes; and that, equally with those from the higher classes, those from the lower were members of families respected and followed by the local community.

London.

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[1] W. L. Guttsman: 'A Study of the Social Origin and Character of British Political Leaders, 1886-1936,' M.Sc. (Econ.) Thesis, London, 1950. H. Laski: *Studies in Law and Politics*, Ch. VIII, undated. B. Webb: Diaries, 1924-32, July 27, 1929, pp. 209, 210.

[2] Where the numbers are too small to warrant subdivision, the terms higher and lower classes have been used.

[3] January 26, 1924.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 194. Professor Laski seems to have excluded George N. Barnes who took Henderson's place as Labour Party representative in the War Cabinet of Lloyd George, in 1917, when Henderson resigned. The son of a machine-maker, he was an engineer and a prominent official of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, before entering Parliament.

[5] J. F. S. Ross: *Elections and Electors*, 1955, p. 411.

[6] H. D. Hughes refers to this in *A Socialist Education Policy*, Fabian pamphlet No. 173, p. 21.

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 195. By 'newer' universities, he appears to mean all English Universities except Oxford and Cambridge.

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 438.

[9] 'The Disappearance of the Governing Class,' *Political Quarterly*, Jan. 1930. Vol. 1. No. 1.

[10] It is not suggested that the individuals concerned were *necessarily* chosen for their association with a particular trade union, or that they remained officials of the union after their entry into Parliament or the Cabinet. Some did, some did not. But it may be assumed that those who did not, maintained a sympathetic interest in the welfare of members of unions of which they had been officials.

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 184.

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 189.

[13] See W. L. Guttsman: *op. cit.*

[14] R. Michels: *Political Parties*, London, 1915.

FREUD AND AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGY*

R. N. Sanford

The dissemination of Freud's psychoanalysis has always depended heavily upon the receptivity of the people who came into contact with it. Many people have embraced it because it promised salvation, or fitted the climate of opinion, or expressed deep, culturally determined dispositions. It has had a special appeal to the neurotic, to the ethnically or sociologically marginal, and to people who had the same kind of Oedipus complex that Freud had; for example, puritans, and renegade Calvinists from the South. Boston early showed her special interest not only by producing a staunch supporter in Dr. Putnam but by calling out the police, in connection with a psychoanalytic paper in the *Journal of Abnormal Psychology.*

At Minnesota, I think, Freud's psychology has won a place because of its scientific merits. Some of the non-psychologists present may not know that in our profession the department at Minnesota has long been known as the very nerve centre of 'dust bowl empiricism.' The meaning of this expression has remained somewhat obscure. Sometimes it means a passion for unadorned facts, with a minimum of concern with meaning or with theory. But in my experience at Minnesota it has meant a cautious open-mindedness, a willingness to examine any idea or proposition no matter how wild it seemed at first, and to accept it if it stood up under rigorous scientific testing.

American psychology is something like Okinawa, as seen by the native interpreter in *Teahouse of the August Moon.* We have not had to go out and seek culture; culture has been brought to us, by various benevolent invaders from across the seas: Darwin, Pavlov, McDougall; Freud, Jung, Adler; Lewin, Koffka, Kohler; Rank, Horney, Fromm and many others. In general we have behaved like

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* Based on a paper read in connection with the celebration of Freud's Centennial at the University of Minnesota, March 7, 1957.

the Okinawans: we have assimilated the foreign ideas to our own ethic; we have chosen among them, modified them, neutralized them, incorporated them in larger wholes; in general, we have managed them in such a way that we have not had to be deflected from our own course.

In broad perspective, the story of our relations with Freud's ideas is the story of the Americanization of Freudian psychology. Of course we have accepted much, and, as we shall see, our psychology has been profoundly enriched, but we are coming up with our own particular version of Freudian psychology. It is less biological, and more social—or other-directed—than the original; in the determination of personality and character it accents later rather than early events in the individual life, higher rather than lower mental processes; it is more objective, more externalized, more differentiated, less systematic, less intellectual. With respect to classical psychoanalytical treatment, we want something that is quicker, more efficient, less painful; if possible, something more elevating. And it seems that we are well on the road to getting it. In Europe, being psychoanalyzed is valued primarily as a rare and interesting experience; we, in this country want to be healthy, mature, adjusted —that is to say, good—and the quicker the better.

To show our differential receptivity to psychoanalytic ideas I need only mention the case of Melanie Klein.

In Great Britain, her school of psychoanalytic thought is important. She has placed a new accent on instinct, a new stress on the earliest years of life; there is a fresh insistence on the inner life, that is, unconscious fantasy, a new conception of universal stages of development, a marvellous tendency to unchecked speculation and, with respect to therapy, there is a rigid adherence to the classical rôle of the analyst and time is of no consequence—five years is the average length of an analysis. All these things are plainly un-American, hence, Kleinian psychoanalysis is hardly represented in this country. But if, by some presently unthinkable catastrophe, psychoanalysis should be banned in Britain, and all the Kleinians should come to this country, we should welcome them, find their ideas interesting if true, speak of finding ways to test some of their hypotheses. The Kleinians would settle down comfortably, if less creatively, with full practices, and let themselves become gradually and pleasantly Americanized.

But this is only the most general picture. Whereas almost every-body in psychology—certainly everybody in personality and social psychology—has had to come to terms with Freud, different individuals and sub-groups have been differentially affected by different aspects of Freud's work, and this at different times.

It seems that the great mass of our people, when the Freudian invasion reached their village, gathered in the market place. Having no great stake in the existing psychological regime, they displayed an amiable curiosity, and a spirit of 'this too will pass away.'

Others stuck closely to their weaving, knowing in their bones that whatever happened there would always be a place for fundamental things like physiological psychology, the design of psychological experiments, and the operation of their 701 adding machines. Some, like Fred Skinner, came out in bold vociferous opposition. But the invading forces shrewdly observed that Skinner, while he was against them, was against almost everybody else as well, and so could be used as a sort of ally. Some took to the hills. Gordon Allport, for example, dragging some enormous cannon behind him, entrenched himself in the hills of Harvard, where he from time to time fired off great salvos, knocking over nine native behaviourists for every Freudian that is endangered. Some, of course, perhaps the most discontented, immediately made common cause with the invader; some over-identified with him, becoming more Freudian than Freud.

First, a bit of historical perspective. Ernest Jones and A. A. Brill, writing about the dissemination of psychoanalysis in America, give a picture of a gradual spreading of the new ideas, a gradual increase in the influence of psychoanalysis. This is true, I think, in the case of psychiatry and for American culture generally. But in the case of psychology the picture seems to be rather different.

There was a small flurry of excitement back around 1909, the time of the Clark lectures, when men like Stanley Hall and William James expressed interest in Freud's ideas, and when Morton Prince accepted articles on psychoanalysis for the *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*. But it is important that these men were not in the main stream of American psychology and that as far as that developing discipline was concerned, nothing much happened, respecting psycho-analysis, for a long time. It is true that Morton Prince, according to Murray, wrote in 1928 that 'Freudian psychology has flooded the field like a full rising tide,' but Prince was talking about his own

field, abnormal psychology and the investigation of 'the unconscious.' Prince complained at the same time about 'indifference in academic psychological circles' toward his own work. Most psychologists of my generation, if they were given any introduction to psychoanalysis at all, were taught that there were three schools of psychoanalytic thought, those represented by Freud, Jung and Adler respectively, and one was free to choose among them if he was interested in that sort of thing.

Then in the middle 1930's there was a change. European psycho-analysts, and dynamic psychologists of note, had begun arriving in considerable numbers, in this country. Psychologists began being psychoanalyzed. These influences from abroad combined with our own slowly developing dynamic psychology to produce enormous new developments in the psychology of personality.

Now projective testing, the objective study of psychoanalytic concepts, personality assessment, studies of personality and culture came into their own. This was the time when the field of personality was more or less mapped out and introduced fairly generally into the major curriculum, thanks in considerable part to distinguished texts by Stagner and by Allport. It was the time of Murray's *Explorations in Personality,* the great pioneer effort at integration of academic psychology and various clinically derived conceptions, including some from Freudian psychoanalysis. But these develop-ments were still on the fringes of American psychology. Participation in them was widely scattered. The major course of our psychology was not profoundly altered.

Then came the war and the spectacular upsurge of clinical psychology. The professionalization of psychology during the past 15 years, and in the years immediately following the war particularly, has not only been the major happening in our field; it has been a major social phenomenon. The scope of the change that has occurred is indicated by the growth in membership of the American Psychological Association from 2,739 in 1940 to over 14,000 today. The great majority of the new members have been clinical psycho-logists, psychologists trained to perform psychotherapy as well as research and diagnosis.

Clinical psychology has found its major basis in the theories and methods that were making their way into psychology during the thirties. Thus it is that dynamic theories of personality, projective

techniques, objective studies of psychoanalytic concepts and theories —interests which had a kind of fringe existence in the thirties—are now commonplace and make up what is certainly a major trend in psychological thought and research. We have witnessed in the last twenty years what amounts to a revolution in psychology. The revolution seems to be about over (a matter which I shall go into later) but it has been enough to permit Freudian psychology to come into its own. I think it is fair to say that an essentially Freudian theoretical orientation to psychotherapy is now the dominant one among psychologists who practise this speciality, and this despite the fact that psychologists have but rarely had the opportunity to receive psychoanalytic training, and that essentially Freudian theories of personality organization lead all others in the work of psychologists who use projective techniques in their diagnostic studies. As far as research goes, a rough estimate would be that at least half the papers published in personality and clinical psychology today, make some use of Freudian concepts, or are deliberate attempts to test some psychoanalytic proposition.

The interesting thing, from the point of view of the sociology of knowledge, is that psychoanalytic ideas, available all the time, could not become really important in organized psychology until conditions within that body were right; there had to be a shift in power arrangements such as could not have been brought about without a great increase in public demand for psychological services. We see, then, that the really strong or effective impact of psychoanalysis on psychology is a fairly recent—or one might better say current— phenomenon. It is much too early to attempt any over-all appraisal; history is still being made.

It is perhaps worth noting that there is another way in which psychoanalysis has entered the life space of psychologists; a way other than through their official training, I mean. Psychologists may be a somewhat peculiar breed, but they do participate in our common culture, and in this way they, like all other educated Americans, have come to share those Freudian ideas which have long since become a part of our intellectual heritage. Psychologists also read things like the *Saturday Review of Literature,* and even though psychoanalytic thought may be far removed from their fields of research or teaching, they will when in the rôles of citizen, or voter, or father, or educator converse quite happily about anxiety, the

Oedipus complex, infantile sexuality and the like; and when they are faced with some practical problem, such as why a colleague cannot seem to get anything published or why a student gets so upset over his oral examination, they come forward readily with psychoanalytic hypotheses.

Perhaps a suitable approach to the rather large topic before us would be to take up the different important aspects of Freud's work—the method, the theory, the findings—and then consider the different kinds of reaction, such as are indicated above, to these aspects in different fields or areas of psychology, at different times.

I think Freud's greatest contribution, to psychology and to psychiatry, is the psychoanalytic method of investigation and treatment. Not only was it an invention of stunning originality; it could not have been conceived by anyone who did not have absolute integrity of character and a profoundly humanistic spirit. By the method I mean not just the technique of free association, crucial though this is; I mean the whole contractual arrangement according to which both therapist and patient become investigators, and both the objects of careful observation and study; in which the therapist can ask the patient to face the truth because he, the therapist, is willing to face it in himself; in which investigation and treatment are aspects of the same humanistic enterprise; in which the better parts of two people, in alliance, can overcome the forces of resistance and transference.

Although the method is integral with much of the theory, still, it seems to me to have had a certain priority. Once the technique of free association could be used, by someone who understood himself, the other great discoveries could follow. And they did. And many enormously important discoveries were made by Freud's early followers. Anyone who faithfully adheres to the method can make discoveries. I have made some myself. The fact that I later found they had already been discovered by other people did not altogether eliminate the initial joy.

Carl Rogers and the non-directive therapists, following a method that partakes very fully of the spirit of the original, and otherwise resembles it, have made discoveries, not all of which had previously been made by psychoanalysts. Melanie Klein and her followers, by sticking very closely to the classical psychoanalytic method have made discoveries leading to some profound revisions of Freud's

fundamental theory. As Erikson has pointed out, the psychoanalytic method is 'a tool for the detection of that aspect of the total image of man which at a given time is being neglected or exploited, repressed or suppressed by the prevailing technology and ideology —including hasty "psychoanalytic ideologies." ' Thus the content of neurotic conflict may change—as indeed it does; the psycho-analytic theory of personality may be revised, or incorporated in a more general theory, but the method will be as valuable as ever.

These considerations make it all the more regrettable that so few psychologists have been able to avail themselves of the method. I suppose it is useless to speculate about what would have happened if we, instead of psychiatry, had had hundreds of analyzed psycho-therapists, as early, say, as 1940. It is certainly useless to bemoan that unkind trick of history by which the great influx of leading European psychoanalysts only came about 10 years before American psychology was ready for psychoanalysis; so that Freud's creation had to find a home in organized medicine rather than in the univer-sity, as he had hoped. One can only express the hope that psychologists will keep up their efforts to avail themselves of all methods for investigating and treating people. And one may remark that the results of this historical trick have not been altogether negative. Psychologists have gone on to invent other interesting and promising methods of treatment, and other methods for investigating personality, methods such as personality assessment, which yield at least some of the kind of material that psychoanalysts have at their disposal.

The Theoretical System.

I can identify our area of concern here simply by referring to the early dynamic conceptions of instinct (chiefly, of course, sexual strivings) repression, the censor, and the unconscious mind. And to the later conceptions of the Id, the Ego and its mechanisms of defence, the Superego. The question is often put as to why this theoretical scheme has persisted—more or less unmodified—for so long. Fifty years, almost sixty years now, is a long time for a theory in science. (In physics, we are told, theories usually last no longer than a few months.) I was surprised recently to hear a distinguished psychologist, in a public lecture, explain the whole phenomenon of this persistence solely on sociological and psychological grounds.

According to this view, alone and open to attack as he was, Freud developed a paranoid-like tendency to relate everything to everything, to adhere rigidly to the principles he had laid down and to insist on conformity in his followers. The development of psychoanalysis was seen as a religious movement, in which the dogma became increasingly rigid and systematized in response to attack from outside, and dissenters were ejected forthwith.

There may be something to this; and certainly the sociology of the psychoanalytic movement is a fascinating study. But this approach to the question certainly leaves a great deal out of account. For one thing, it does not explain the persistence of the theory among psychologists, who have certainly been free of the loyalties which membership in a psychoanalytic society might entail.

I think it ought to be conceded that the general theory has lasted because there is so much truth in it; because it was well-conceived in the first place, and because it has been increasingly validated by objective studies as the years have gone by. The personality theorist has not been able to produce anything better, anything, certainly, that has not included much of the original. He will, in time, of course, but I have an idea that the kind of more general theory he eventually adopts will be a theory something like Freud's. For the clinical worker, there is not as yet any other theory that is so useful, that comes so close to permitting a general formulation of the total personality. I say with all possible emphasis that the clinical psychologist who prepares to work with patients and who does not have, in his bones and at his finger tips, the observations and formulations of patient behaviour contributed by Freud, and by other early masters such as Abraham and Ferenczi, is simply not educated, or ready for what he is about to undertake. He does not, of course, have to agree with what he reads, he may conceptualize things differently, and use techniques other than psychoanalytic ones, but not to know Freud—that would be like presuming to be, in western society, a professional philosopher without having read Aristotle.

Apart from the matter of demonstrated validity—which though considerable is very far from being complete—the theory has persisted because of the kind of theory it is. It has the virtue of vagueness. Start working with any one of the Freudian concepts— one of the defence mechanisms, say—design some objective studies to define it or to test some proposition embodying it. You will probably wind up quite uncertain as to whether you have done what

you set out to do; but the chances are that you will have discovered something interesting, invented a few concepts of your own—in the general area of the original—and you will have been enormously stimulated. No one will deny that the things Freud was talking about are things of perpetual, often consuming interest. In conceptualizing these things he seems to have achieved just the right degree of hypotheticalness, just the right degree of remoteness of the constructs from anything observable, in order to insure the perpetuation of his theory. We cannot ignore his formulations, nor can we disprove them. The thing is, the concepts *can* be defined operationally, in the modern, sophisticated, Minnesota sense of operationalism, and so they cannot be dismissed as vagaries of the imagination; yet it is extraordinarily difficult to devise any crucial tests of them. And so we keep plugging away, fascinated and frustrated. At this stage of our development as a science, it would be importunate to ask more of a theory of personality. Gardner Murphy, in his recent valuable survey of the impact of Freud's psychoanalysis upon various fields of psychology, shows that the impact has been greatest upon personality psychology and clinical psychology (ratings of 6) and least in the cases of intelligence and physiological psychology (ratings of 0).

What is particularly striking is the relatively small degree to which social psychology has been influenced by Freud. It is striking not only because personality and clinical psychologists and social psychologists are often regarded as kindred spirits, but because psychoanalytic psychology *is* social psychology, in its major part. The therapeutic relationship, which Freud was at such pains to formulate, is a social situation; and the Oedipus complex (perhaps the most Freudian of all Freud's constructions) is a system involving interactions among people. Here is another reason why I think the general theory of the future will resemble that of Freud. He specified the social inputs and incorporated them in the scheme. Modern personality theory is trying to do the same thing.

But Freud never paid much attention to the real aspects of the contemporary social situation, as determinants of behaviour, nor did those personality psychologists who were attracted by his views. There developed a kind of polarity, with personality psychologists claiming as much as possible for inner determinants, social psychology opposing and making claims for the contemporary social situation. It may be noted here that, if the personality and clinical psycho-

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logists had Freud, the social psychologists have also a great man on their side, Karl Marx. A theory of society that could 'explain' the invention of psychoanalysis and the whole psychoanalytic movement as aspects of the class struggle was a very potent weapon indeed. Not that many social psychologists were self-consciously Marxist, but they certainly had the benefits of a great tradition of social and economic theory. Happily, psychoanalysis and social science, personality psychology and social psychology are beginning to find common ground, and to make common cause. Here there are great prospects for the future—a matter to which I return in concluding.

The libido theory seems to lie at a point somewhere between the more general theoretical structure and what I would call specific contents or facts of observation. Much of what we refer to as the libido theory is in the nature of first order generalization from a mass of concrete observations. The central thing of course is infantile sexuality.

With respect to the theme of sexuality, Freud's work has had the aspect of a self-defeating prophecy. If, today, in our less repressive culture, someone put as much emphasis as Freud did on sex in the etiology of neurosis and in normal life, we would say, with some justice, that he was overestimating this factor. The fact seems to be that sex, in the more limited sense of this word, is less often a crucial factor today than it used to be. This is so in no small part because of the work of Freud and his early followers. And given the general cultural climate in which he carried on his activities, it is hard to see how he could have accomplished what he did, without the remarkable singleness of purpose for which he is so well known. But to say that Freud over-estimated the fact of sex, and that psychoanalysts generally have tended to attribute to libidinal functioning things that were more accurately attributed to something else—this is not to take much away from the theory.

The theory goes on to state that the sexual libido may attach itself to—may cathect—now one object, or mode of behaviour or zone of the body, and now another; that in special circumstances it may become fixated at one of these points; and that later, in difficult circumstances, there may be regression to an earlier phase. This is the most essential fact in symptom formation.

The libido theory stands by itself. There is nothing in all psychology that is quite comparable to it for showing the fundamental relatedness of such manifold, superficially diverse, phenomena. When

I say that most of Freud's conceptions will eventually be incorporated in a more general theory, I mean the libido theory too. This will be a sad day, in a way, for the libido theory as it stands is beautiful and magnificent. Actually, when I say incorporated in a more general theory I do not mean that that will be the last of it. I mean rather, that we are likely to have some model other than Freud's hydrostatic one—the flowing and damming up of libido—and that the limitations of the theory will be better understood. For example, it will not be generally claimed, as psychoanalysis has seemed to do, that all curiosity rests upon a sexual motive; a general theory will recognize various sources of curiosity and put them in their proper place. But I don't think it will ever be possible to deny that sometimes a behavioural phenomenon like curiosity is traceable, through a network of transformations, to an infantile fixation.

Just a word about the Oedipus complex. The anthropologists have pretty well demonstrated that this complex is not found in all cultures in precisely the form that Freud described. But this, I think, has not been to demonstrate very much. Anyone who is going to carry on psychoanalysis, or make any attempt at cultural reform, in societies where there is family life, would be well-advised to include the Oedipus complex within his theoretical scheme of things. And, of course, any American who is contemplating being psychoanalyzed had better expect to have this aspect of himself looked into.

Freud took a great gamble when he leaped to the conclusion that what was true of himself and of the Viennese ladies was, in some essential way, true of everybody. But he had the right instinct. He was calling attention to our common humanity. He was saying, in a particularly heroic way, 'nothing human is to me alien,' or conversely, no matter how alien a pattern of behaviour may be, it is still human. I am saying that the Oedipus complex as Freud described it *is* pretty general. But I am also saying that the value of the conceptualization does not depend mainly on the precise identity of the mother and father figures. Back of the familiar family constellation is a more abstract formulation, in terms of love and hate and the figures of the early environment; and the notion that adult social behaviour (neurotic behaviour in particular) depends heavily upon childhood experience in respect to these processes and factors will stand close scrutiny.

I want to honour Freud, but I would like to do so without putting

too much stock in the great man theory of history. One might put it this way. Freud was a genius, and besides this he had courage, nobility of spirit, and an enormous capacity for work. But he was also very fortunate. He appeared on the scene at just the right moment of history, and in just the right type of society. In him there was a confluence of trends which had been in progress for a long time. The suppression and hypocrisy of the Victorian era were bound to yield to the truth sooner or later; the vast amount of humanistic knowledge then existing, the insights achieved by poets and philosophers were bound to be applied by someone whose professional task it was to relieve human suffering. The situation in psychiatry and psychology was such that a number of men were on the point of saying that if hysteria could be cured by verbal means it must be psychological in its origins. It was this cultural readiness for psychoanalysis that made many people say that they had known it all the time, that made others feel that they could have discovered it themselves—and that they almost did.

More than this, it seems that the creator of psychoanalysis had to be neurotic himself, had to be a member of an ethnic minority, or at least socially marginal. I would even go so far as to say that he had to have sound training in biological science, in order to attain the security necessary to the scientist who would speculate about inner psychological processes.

As Freud once put it, it 'fell to his lot' to discover psychoanalysis. And once the cultural streams were joined in him the same thing could not happen again. No one else could be first. This has been a thorn in the side of a number of brilliant men. Some have been goaded by it to discover other things; but these things were not psychoanalysis. Many psychoanalysts have lived out their lives with a gnawing sense of frustration, partly mastered by wry humour, that they could not seem to discover anything that Freud had not already discovered. 'The old man was right,' they said.

The revisions of Freud have all been somehow incidental. After the great original conceptions had been put forward—infantile sexuality, repression and the unconscious, resistance and transference —further work in psychoanalysis had an aspect of tidying up on the fringes. One could say that the unconscious was the source of high as well as of low human dispositions, that there were other fundamentally important motives besides sex, that events of importance for personality formation may occur at other times besides childhood.

Freud could afford to relax and say, 'What of it?' He himself could not improve his system much after *The Interpretation of Dreams*. The great effort to put Freud's psychoanalysis in its place or to 'see it in perspective' by presenting it as one of several approaches to psychoanalysis, or schools of psychoanalytic thought—an effort that has persisted for at least 35 years in this country—has been something of a failure. And so have been the efforts to use telling arguments against one aspect of Freud's work as a basis for rejecting the whole, or to take one aspect and build it into a competing system. The fact is, Freud got hold of some fundamental truths; truths which, so to speak, had to be discovered. Once they were discovered by Freud, the only course open to his competitors was the same as that which is open to us today, that is, to include these truths in a larger view of man, to take them into account in building a more general theory.

A tendency to over-estimate Freud is sometimes encountered nowadays. I have noticed it particularly among young clinical psychologists, trained at places where there was a fairly strong psychoanalytic orientation. Perhaps it is not so much a general over-estimation but rather a tendency, appearing as part of a general positive evaluation, to credit Freud with some things that he did not actually do. A common conception is that psychology consisted of introspectionism and classical behaviourism, and then Freud came along, or his ideas won some acceptance, and then we had a dynamic psychology. I feel somewhat sensitive about this, because I came into psychology along a path which I think was quite independent of Freud; and I counted myself a dynamic psychologist before Freud's work entered into my scheme of things. William McDougall was my man. I can still relive the excitement generated by a reading, as an undergraduate, of his *Social Psychology*. It seemed to me almost unbelievable that anyone could write in a scientific book things which I thought no one but me had experienced. I knew at once that psychology was my dish. My copy of the *Social Psychology* was published in 1908; and I believe that up to that time McDougall had not been influenced by Freud. Rather, he was in a tradition of British psychology—Shand, Trotter, Bernard Hart—that stemmed mainly from Darwin.

I was happy to note the other day that Ernest Jones referred to McDougall as 'the most distinguished experimental and social psychologist of our time.' McDougall has always suffered a sad

neglect at the hands of American psychologists; and this primarily because he was a dynamic psychologist, out of step with the introspectionism and behaviourism of his day. This neglecr has been of such long standing that even Gardner Murphy, one of the few historians that we have, did not mention McDougall in his recent careful survey of the situation in psychology before, or independently of, Freud. Every graduate student in psychology has read Gordon Allport's famous *Reply to Mr. Bertocci*, a stirring defence of the doctrine of functional autonomy. But who was Mr. Bertocci? Not many can tell you. Mr. Bertocci is a philosopher and a McDougall man; and, if you ask me, he had rather the better of the argument.

My point is that there was a dynamic psychology stemming from Charcot, Janet, Morton Prince on the one hand and McDougall on the other, that was pretty independent of Freud. This psychology is what was mainly taught at the Harvard Psychological Clinic in 1930. Freud was one name among many. I think something could have come of this psychology, without benefit of psychoanalysis. The real impact of psychoanalysis was not felt at Harvard until after 1932, when Franz Alexander arrived in Boston. It may have been earlier elsewhere.

Thus, it must be said that among the academic psychologists who first took Freud seriously were those who already had this other dynamic psychology, and that among them was McDougall himself.

I may attempt a brief summary concerning the impact of Freud's work on American psychology. Large areas (for example, physiological and comparative psychology, the psychology of perception and learning) have been affected little. Sometimes because Freud's ideas were not relevant, sometimes because they have been effectively resisted. Other fields, such as personality and clinical, have been virtually transformed by Freud. His work has become the major source of research hypotheses, a major kind of theoretical orientation, a major guide in practical work. The impact of Freud on psychology in these and in other fields has not been just a matter of accepting him; the impulse to oppose or to contradict Freud has led to an enormous amount of productive work, both in experimentation and in theory-making.

Revisions of psychoanalysis, in this country, have been in the direction of making it more American, as in the case of the present accent on ego-psychology. Psychologists, while supporting many of these revisions, have not actually initiated many themselves, having

had relatively little opportunity to practise analysis. They have rather developed their own theoretical systems with their own terms, translating Freud when they wanted to use some of his ideas or findings.

The aspects of Freud's work that have found the widest acceptance among American psychologists have been the mechanisms of defence and the general theory of personality structure, Id, Ego, Superego. Least acceptable, or most controversial, has been the libido theory. If Freud were here he would attribute this to resistance.

In psychoanalytic circles it has long been understood that there were essentially two ways to manage the emotional problems created by being a disciple of Freud. One was to be a good son, to adhere loyally to all the teachings of the master; and the other was to identify with Freud's father rôle and to seek disciples oneself. In America, we have never found it difficult to reject the rôle of obedient son; our deeper feelings of love and submission toward the father are rather likely to be suppressed or unconscious. As an external agency of guidance and control we have preferred the social group, the organization, the profession rather than the image of any particular man—though times may be changing. One might hope that our concern with establishing our independence, and our disposition to look to the future rather than to the past, will not prevent us from finding inspiration in the kind of psychologist Freud was, and in the kind of man he was. We may best do this, it seems to me, by paying most attention to Freud's approach to human problems; and to the psychoanalytic method that I have called his greatest contribution.

To show what I mean it is necessary to consider the situation in psychology today. The greatest need of our science is for a general theory of personality that is sufficiently comprehensive and open to testing by objective methods. This is true not only for those of us whose prime object of study is personality, that is, the organization and functioning of the whole individual; it is true also for the general psychologist whose primary concern is with behaviour. General psychology becomes more and more personality oriented. And this of necessity, as it becomes better understood that in order to explain behaviour it is necessary to take into account factors in the behaving person; for example, to understand perceiving behaviour we have to know a great deal about the perceiver.

The great difficulty, now as always, is the gap between the hypothetical constructs necessary to any comprehensive theory of

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personality, and the observations that can be made with existing methods. Even though we take pains to specify just how some hypothetical force or structural arrangement inside the personality might express itself in behaviour we always have to allow for a certain looseness of the connections between inner processes and outer manifestations. The same inner process may express itself in various ways; and the same, or at least very similar, objective manifestations may have sources in different inner processes. What actually happens, of course, depends upon the activity of various other processes, of different degrees of inwardness. Unless we *limit* ourselves to some very narrow or quite superficial aspect of the personality, or to some relatively short span of behaviour, there are usually more of these outer processes than our methods can handle. In short—and radically to understate the case—personality is very complicated.

If we seek a way out of the dilemma by composing a theory that accents testability by existing methods we usually wind up with something that is less than comprehensive. If we plug away with existing concepts and theories about the inner processes—psychoanalytic ones for example—we can expect to be reproached by some of our colleagues for vagueness or methodological laxity. This exposes our greatest weakness; it lies in our methodology. Why else should we spend most of our time talking about method, arguing about method, drilling our students in method—often at the expense of their education as psychologists? In our eagerness to do something that was methodologically irreproachable, or perhaps something that matched in elegance some of the performances of the older sciences, we have sometimes chosen problems not because of their significance, but because they lent themselves to attack by available techniques. One is reminded again of the inebriated gentleman found looking for his watch under a street lamp, not because that was where he had lost it but because there seemed to be more light there. Some psychologists have been driven by our methodological weakness, and their inability to tolerate it, into denouncing as irrelevant, unimportant or outside of science, whole areas of psychology including, of course, central areas of personality psychology. And investigators who have been willing to sacrifice their methodological purity in order to enter these forbidding—or forbidden—areas have been called tender-minded or, sometimes, not very bright.

Our methods do improve; there is no question about that. And we may hope eventually to achieve something fairly adequate. But in the

meantime our preoccupation with method, and our accent on the objectively observable, has resulted in a trend toward superficiality. It is the preference for observing what can be observed, that is, the most superficial aspects of the person or his behaviour, that threatens to make psychology a dull subject. This is a serious matter, and threatens to be catastrophic. Psychology will not perish from failure to solve all man's problems, from failure to adopt the proper view of man, from being too practical or from being too theoretical. It could, however, die of dullness, and I am particularly concerned to ward off this danger. If we were to follow Freud we would see at once that psychology is most interesting when it is most human; when it deals with experiences that we all have, or might have, when it shows us to ourselves. The experimenter, following this lead, would be interested not only in what his subjects did, on the average, in a particular situation, but in what it was like to be in that situation. In reporting this knowledge to us he would not hesitate to make use of his own introspections. He would, indeed, consider subjective states as major objects of study in their own right. Psychological work is interesting and human when it has to do with something important, that is to say, something that we care about, something that has to do, however remotely, with our fate as individuals and as a society. If the experimental problem is important, then the experimental situation will be likely to involve the subjects emotionally and, hence, the experimenter cannot avoid consideration of their welfare.

An important human problem almost always involves a question concerning the conditions of change; one wants to know what can be done about something. The experimenter who obtains this knowledge, and who is concerned about the welfare of his subjects, may have to consider how much of that knowledge he should transmit to them. In other words, the position of the experimenter on important human problems and the position of the psychotherapist or reformer are similar. Each must be prepared to switch back and forth between the rôle of scientist and the rôle of humanitarian—or find ways of fusing the two rôles. Psychological research without concern for welfare may easily be inhuman, while humanity without science is ineffective. Psychotherapy, carried on with investigation as well as treatment in mind (that is, in the tradition of Freud) is human psychology in one of its purest forms. One might hope that more theorists and researchers in psychology would find the time to prepare themselves, and find opportunities properly to station them-

selves, so that they could take a few cases in psychotherapy or intensive counselling. This remains, I believe, our best means for learning about people. It is certainly no accident that most of the recent important contributions to psychological theory have been made by men who used data from their psychotherapeutic practice: Carl Rogers, Dollard and Miller, George Kelly, Julian Rotter and so on.

Our greatest opportunity for a real break-through, is in social psychology. The investigator, the investigator-reformer, knows that as soon as he enters the life-space of a social group he becomes a determinant of its behaviour; he therefore must know himself and see himself in his interactions with the group. Thus it is that the social psychologist and the group with whom he works both are objects of study, just as both are investigator-reformers. What each learns he passes on to the other, at the proper time and in the proper circumstances. All organised groups are resistant to change. Members of such groups, people who have remained in them for some time, have interest vested in things as they are. They have found ways to receive secondary gains from their positions, rôles and statuses. The defences of a group, defences against self-knowledge or against change, are most essentially the defences of the individual. But these he supports and maintains through his behaviour in social rôles. Thus it is that the social reformer, one who would improve a group's functioning, no matter how well versed he was in psychoanalytic theory and technique, could not get very far without a sound knowledge of group structure and functioning.

Thus it seems possible, even not unlikely, that as we achieve a suitable integration of Freud's approach to human problems and our newer knowledge of group structure and functioning, we may yet realize what was one of Freud's fondest hopes; that psychoanalysis might be a benefit not only to the neurotic individual but to larger groups of people, and eventually to society itself.

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A NOTE ON RURAL DEPOPULATION AND SOCIAL PROVISION

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A mong the various causes put forward to explain rural depopulation, the absence of main water and sewerage, the scarcity and backwardness of village shops and the relatively low standard of various services are favourite topics for political platforms in rural constituencies, at Women's Institute meetings and the like. Indeed, some enthusiasts would have us believe that rural depopulation can be explained wholly in terms of the lack of bathrooms, inadequate village school facilities, and the disappearance of the village blacksmith. Standards of provision of public utility and other services in rural areas are low enough, as I have shown elsewhere,[1] but the arguments need to be examined with care especially since they are so often advanced by people who remain in the countryside despite the many drawbacks.

In order to clear my own mind on this subject, I recently compared the services and organisations which existed in a number of parishes where depopulation had persisted for a long time, with those which were present in areas of recent population increase.

In the county of Somerset, used as field of study, the problem of rural depopulation does not appear serious on first sight. Taking the County as a whole there was quite a small loss due to migration if 1951 Census figures are compared with those for 1931, namely −7,283 or −1.4 per cent net migration. But this tells only a very small fragment of the story. If parish population figures for successive censuses are examined, three zones of persistent depopulation can be identified as follows :- (i) an eastern, mainly lowland, area of good arable and pasture, (ii) a central area, including the low-lying, often marshy, Levels of central Somerset, and a western area, i.e. the Exmoor and Brendon Hills, comprising mainly hill country given over to forest and poor farming. Drift of population from west

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Somerset can be explained in part by poor soil, difficult slope, severe or unpleasant winter weather, remoteness and the like. The regular flooding of the Somerset Levels places a limit to agricultural development and to potential population in parts of central Somerset. But the continued migration from eastern Somerset and from the remainder of central Somerset, which contain high proportions of good lowland arable and pasture land, is not easily explained.

The rest of the county where population is on the increase can conveniently be divided into four areas for examination : - (i) a coastal zone which continues across the north of the county from Bristol to Bath, (ii) an area around Taunton, the county town, (iii) a southern area around the towns of Yeovil, Chard, Ilminster and Crewkerne and (iv) an east-central area around Glastonbury, Street and Wells. All these towns have more industrial activity than before World War II, and the coastal zone has a flourishing holiday and tourist industry.

Country people live in villages or in the open country. They are counted for Census purposes and served by local authorities with certain utility services on a rural district and parish basis. Most village services provided by private enterprise are enjoyed by the whole parish which may, however, in the case of large parishes comprise more than one nucleus of habitations. Much of the information was obtained through official sources and was arranged to a parish pattern. For these reasons the analysis has been made on a parish and not a village basis.

The table summarises the survey findings as they relate to the different migration areas. Three broad groups are considered, namely public utility services, artisan services and social organisations.

The following public utilities are examined : - water, electricity, gas, sewerage and refuse collection, i.e. services normally considered by townsmen as necessities. At the time of the investigation, there were 53 parishes (out of a total for the county of 375), i.e. 14.1%, which had no water main. In the three depopulating areas, 23.9% of all parishes had no piped water as against 8.7% in the areas of increasing population taken together. In the western (Exmoor-Brendon) areas, the proportion was 41.0%. Before using these figures to explain rural emigration one should note that around Taunton, where population is increasing, 21.9% of all parishes were without

Organisations and Services in Areas of Increasing and of Decreasing Population in Somerset.

Area	Number of Parishes as Per Cent. of All Parishes in Each Area												Total Number of Parishes
	Public Utility Services						Artisan Services		Social Organisations				
	No Piped Water		No Electricity or Gas		None or one Service		None or one Service		0–3 Orgs.		10+ Orgs.		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
a. *Decreasing Population*													
Western	16	41.0	23	59.0	25	64.1	16	41.0	16	41.0	3	7.2	39
Central Levels ...	5	12.2	8	19.5	12	29.3	10	24.4	18	43.9	3	7.3	41
Eastern	11	20.4	10	18.5	13	24.1	14	25.9	26	48.1	5	9.3	54*
Total	32	23.9	41	30.6	50	37.3	40	29.9	60	44.8	11	8.2	134
b. *Increasing Population*													
Coast and North ...	3	2.1	16	11.4	9	6.4	27	19.3	38	27.1	19	13.6	140†
Taunton	7	21.9	6	18.8	7	21.9	7	21.9	16	50.0	2	6.3	32
Southern	4	8.0	5	10.0	4	8.0	13	26.0	22	44.0	8	16.0	50‡
East-central ...	7	36.8	0	0	6	31.6	4	21.1	9	47.4	3	15.8	19
Total	21	8.7	27	11.2	26	10.8	51	21.2	85	35.3	32	13.3	241
	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)		(5)		(6)		(7)

* Includes 2 parishes with no change in population.
† Includes 5 parishes with declining populations and 2 with no change in population.
‡ Includes 11 parishes with increasing populations, (i.e. 4 from the coast near the mouth of the R. Parrett and 7 from the eastern area) and 1 parish with no change in population.

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a mains water supply, a proportion higher actually than for the central or eastern depopulating areas. Here other factors must clearly outweigh the disadvantage of absence of main water. It is well to remember, however, that even in parishes with a mains supply a considerable number of houses may not be connected to it. For instance, in Shepton Mallet Rural District which contained 3,031 houses, 1,999 enjoyed a piped supply, 573 used stand pipes and 459 relied on private wells.

In areas of depopulation, 30.6% of all parishes had neither electricity nor gas, compared with 11.2% in areas of increasing population. In the Exmoor-Brendon group, indeed, 59.0% of all parishes were without. Nevertheless, the proportion without electricity or gas in the eastern area of depopulation was virtually the same as for the Taunton area of increasing population.

Relatively few parishes in Somerset enjoy complete water-carriage systems of sewage disposal, even where there is a main water supply, although small, make-shift schemes with short lengths of drains and sewers often discharge crude sewage into not-so-far-away watercourses and ditches. Council houses have usually group septic-tank systems.

The frequency of household refuse collection varies with the local authority. Weekly collections are usually made in large compact settlements and there is a fortnightly collection in all parishes with a population of 800 persons. In most parishes where population is declining collections are made once a month or less frequently.

Taking these five public utilities together and considering all parishes with only one or no service it is clear from Column 3 that areas of depopulation are less well served than areas of increasing population. Indeed, in the western area 64.1% of all parishes failed to reach this very low score. Nevertheless, one in ten of all parishes in areas of increasing population had the same low standard of provision.

Artisan Services.

The craftsmen included in this group—blacksmith, house decorator and repairer, chimney sweep and repairers of cars, radios, bicycles and shoes—are not needed every day and their services may be less vital to the country dweller than a main water supply, but they are very necessary indeed on occasions. Column 4 of the table

SOMERSET : Areas of increasing and decreasing population, 1931-1951
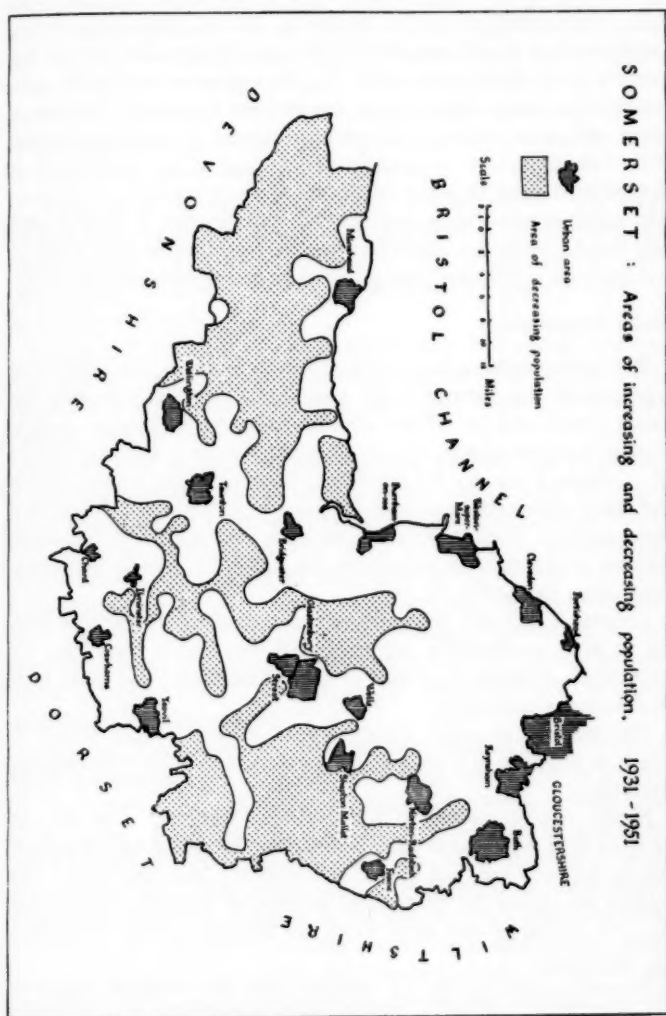
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gives the number and proportion of parishes in each migration area with one or no services (out of seven). There are actually, in total, more 'black spots' in areas of increasing than in areas of decreasing population (51 to 40) and the proportions do not differ greatly for the two types of migration areas. In the increasing population area, however, parishes without these services are frequently adjacent to towns and town services, whereas the villages of the depopulation areas without services are mainly remote from urban services. It is one thing to jump on a bus which passes every ten minutes or so to take a pair of shoes to be repaired and quite another if the bus runs only twice a week, the return fare costs half-a-crown or three shillings and there are a couple of youngsters to be met from afternoon school.

Social Organisations.

The survey information included, for each parish, the number of organisations for general social and special interest activities, for young people and for adults—regular whist drives, dances, cinema, evening institute classes, branch libraries, Women's Institute and so on. Column 5 sets out the number and proportion of parishes which had three organisations or less, i.e. those with virtually no organised social activity. More than half of the total were in areas of increasing population although the proportion was higher in areas of decreasing population, i.e. 44.8% to 35.3%.

Column 6 indicates the number and proportion of parishes with ten or more organisations compared with the total in each area. Of the total of 43 parishes, 32 were in areas of increasing and 11 in areas of decreasing population.

The amount of social activity varies markedly from parish to parish in response to a number of factors of which the following are important:

Firstly, consider potential membership. Twenty-nine of the 43 parishes with high scores have populations exceeding one thousand, ten lie between 500 and 1,000, and four are less than 500. The median population for all parishes in areas of decreasing population was 300 compared with three times this number in areas of increasing population.

Secondly, most of the 43 parishes have six or more places of assembly. Nine out of ten parishes with populations exceeding 500 have at least one place of assembly for social gatherings besides

church and chapel, and it is surprising how many activities can flourish in a village with just one, well-appointed, village hall run by an efficient committee. As an example, Long Load (parish population 197) has a British Legion Branch, skittles club, W.V.S. group, women's club, Conservative Guild, cricket club, football club, boys' club and brass band. There are monthly whist drives and regular cinema performances. The only meeting place is what the vicar describes as a church hall *cum* schoolroom.

Thirdly, it is frequently asserted that competition of urban social organisations discourages local village assemblies and conversely that isolation from urban amenities favours the development of rural organisations. The enquiry did not conclusively support either of these generalisations.

Fourthly, the number of social organisations in a parish is related to its position as a local centre for shopping and other services. Most parishes with high social organisation scores had twelve or more shops, a doctor, visiting bank etc.

Finally, there are those elusive qualities, initiative and leadership, which may be present in the smallest parish and are very frequently found where there is a significant number of newcomers. Thus, dormitory localities, which occur only in areas of increasing population, have usually more social activity than might be expected for their size, a fact which may be related to the wider experience of the newcomers or to their desire to achieve status through organisation leadership. By contrast, indigenous residents in an area of declining population have fewer threats to their leadership and are likely to feel little incentive to stir themselves.

A number of points emerge from this brief examination. (i) Parishes where depopulation has persisted for a long time occur in groups. (ii) The number of services and organisations per parish in these areas is, in general, lower than in areas where population is increasing. (iii) For each group of services there are some parishes in areas of increasing population which have as few services or organisations as parishes which are declining in population. (iv) Parishes in areas of declining population are, on the whole, much smaller than those in areas of increasing population and this fact seriously influences the acquisition, development and maintenance of new services and organisations of all kinds. (v) In general, parishes near towns are better provided with services and social organisations than those

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further away. It is significant that parishes with declining populations are usually relatively remote from urban areas.

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[1] H. E. Bracey : *Social Provision in Rural Wiltshire*, London, 1952

SOME ASPECTS OF THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE
OF A ROMAN CATHOLIC PARISH

Conor K. Ward

ociological research in the sphere of religion is no novelty in
England. A century ago the data provided by the 1851 Census
were being discussed.[1] Then came the census of church
attendance on 24th October, 1886, conducted by the *British Weekly*.[2]
At the beginning of the present century Charles Booth devoted seven
volumes of his *Life and Labour of the People of London* to 'religious
influences' and the results of his painstaking observation, supple-
mented by the information collected in R. Mudie-Smith's census of
church attendance resulted in an intense if short-lived interest in
empirical investigation of the problems of religious life and practice.[3]
Interest waned, however, and while some empirical data on religion
were generally, although not invariably, included in subsequent
sociological surveys there were no further major investigations
centring on religion until comparatively recently. Norman Birnbaum
in a paper on the sociology of religion in Great Britain suggests that
lack of interest on the part of sociologists was due to three factors:
the social and cultural situation of a highly secularized society;
the moribund state of Christianity in Great Britain; and the
influence of extreme empiricism deriving from American sociology.[4]
He is puzzled at the paucity of interest within the Christian Churches
themselves,[5] which would appear to have been the result of suspicion
deriving from the extreme empiricism and positivism of many
sociologists and a scepticism regarding the utility of sociology. This
scepticism was strengthened by the popularisation in simplified form
of the results of public opinion polls on religious matters. Currently
there appears to be a renewal of interest in religion on the part of
sociologists and a growing consciousness among ecclesiastics of the
value of empirical research. Both may perhaps be related to the
development of methods of investigation which take account of
aspects of human behaviour which cannot be measured by techniques
derived exclusively from the physical sciences.

The early studies were largely a matter of analysis by social class. Those which followed consisted almost entirely of statistics of church attendance. The time would now appear to be ripe for attempts to carry analysis further. This would appear to be desirable even from the point of view of the Church itself. In the course of a discussion of the mission of the Church in an industrial society Canon E. R. Wickham writes of the 'striking feature to be seen in the sociological conditioning of both faith and unbelief, of both the habit of worship and its neglect.' 'Nothing' he continues, 'stands out more clearly than this, and it suggests that the Church should be willing to submit herself to radical sociological self-examination.'[6]

This paper will outline some of the results of an attempt to make such a sociological examination in relation to the basic unit of much of the ecclesiastical organisation of this country—the territorial parish. To the theologian the parish is the Church in microcosm designed to be for those living within the parish boundaries what the Universal Church is for all. To the sociologist, in many respects, it represents an attempt to create and maintain a community. The extent to which that attempt will be anything more than theoretical will vary in accordance with the possibilities of local situations and the traditions of local ecclesiastical policy. Where the attempt is seriously made both the study of it and the data resulting from that study should be of value to the sociology of religion; they should also be of interest to sociologists in general.[7]

This study was made in a Roman Catholic parish in Liverpool where the Catholics place great emphasis on the parish as a unit. Records already available provided a considerable amount of data. Other relevant information was obtained by using the usual techniques of observation together with more thorough interviews with the adult members of 143 households chosen at random from a list of households of parishoners.[8] The interviews were semi-structured. The total number of persons interviewed was two hundred and seventy. The study was designed and carried out by the writer under the supervision of the Head of the Department of Social Science of the University of Liverpool and a Senior Research Worker of that Department.

To provide a check on interviewer bias and on the influence on the answers given of the main interviewer's rôle as a Roman Catholic priest immediately identifiable as such, fifty interviews were undertaken by a member of the research team of the Department of Social

Science. These interviews were divided into two series of twenty-five. In one series the interviewer who was a Catholic revealed the fact at the beginning of the interview. In the other series the interviews were conducted by the interviewer in the rôle of a detached observer whose religious affiliation was not disclosed. Preliminary study of the results reveals no significant differences between the interviews of the priest and the interviewer known to be a Catholic, except that the priest secured acceptance more easily. The 'detached observer' found the establishment of rapport a little difficult and appeared to encounter a desire 'not to let the side down' which resulted in an almost complete absence of critical comment or information which might have appeared unfavourable to the Church.

The parish studied, which we shall call St. Catherine's, was established in the last quarter of the nineteenth century as a result of the influx of Irish immigrants. Like most of the parishes of the diocese, St. Catherine's was originally part of an older parish, and other parishes have since been established within what were once the boundaries of St. Catherine's. The present boundaries were drawn less than thirty years ago, and even more recently Local Authority housing policy has caused changes of population. The most recent housing unit was completed only four years ago. In the parish as it is today there are about two thousand Catholics. The parish priest has been in the parish ten years; the assistant priest with him has been there for a slightly shorter period. The parochial area is not large and all the parishioners live within fifteen minutes walk of the parish church, which is almost in the centre of the area.

The total population of the area within the boundaries of the parish is approximately 18,000. About three quarters of the houses are typical bye-law terraces. This section will be referred to as 'the old area.' The remaining quarter is divided between a pre-war estate and a recently completed housing unit. The socio-economic level is low and the incidence of social defects high, but in neither case does the level reach the extremes found in the more central and more blighted sections of the city. In terms of the recent article in this review on the zones of Liverpool[9] the locality in which the parish is situated has the characteristics of the Northern inner residential zone.

The hypotheses which will be discussed in this paper are two rather common and conflicting generalisations regarding the parish in the modern city. On the one hand there is the view well expressed

by John J. Harbrecht, that the parochial system appears to be 'the last stage in the evolution of the local organisation of Catholicism—For the Church seems convinced at present that fifteen centuries of experience have fully shown that the parish organisation has successfully met every condition, crisis and problem . . .'[10] On the other hand there is the view that 'the parish as we know it now, particularly in big cities and urban areas, is no more than an artificial, purely geographical group. It has no relation to the general social and economic life of its members; it is no more than a haphazard collection and agglomeration of people.'[11] In the course of the investigation in the parish of St. Catherine an attempt was made to assess the extent to which the evidence obtained could be regarded as verifying these hypotheses. This study was restricted to the static aspects of the parish; some of its main elements will be outlined in the first part of this paper. A deeper understanding of the observed situation requires in addition an appreciation of the factors involved in its development. The second part of the paper will, therefore, be devoted to the main factors which appeared to be operating to produce the situation existing in the parish studied.

I.

The study of the information which came to light during the investigation made it clear that the question of the extent to which the parish of St. Catherine was anything more than an arbitrary administrative unit could not be answered simply in either the affirmative or the negative.

Parishioners appeared to be conscious of their membership of the parish and to acknowledge obligations following from that membership. All those interviewed, without exception, named correctly the parish within whose boundaries they lived. This also applied to those who attended a church other than their parish church and to those who attended no church at all. The parish was *their* parish and they were proud of its achievements and anxious about its progress. Typical of the replies received were:

'St. Catherine's is my parish—and to my mind it's the best in Liverpool, and I've been in a few in my time.'

'We are in St. Catherine's parish but we also go to Mass in St. Blaise's.'

and from a non-attender:

'Well, I'm in St. Catherine's parish—but I hardly ever go to Church, mind, so I don't know much about it.'

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Criticisms and grievances were presented as aspects of parish life which fell below the ideal which parishioners wished their parish to achieve, and at times clearly indicated acceptance of the parish as the recognised unit of Catholic life. In discussing associations and activities, for example, regret was expressed in 25% of the households that there was not a parish club to which husband and wife could go together at week-ends. There was such a club in the next parish and it was in fact almost as convenient to reach as a club near St. Catherine's church would have been for half of those who made this complaint. Nevertheless they wanted 'their own club.' Again, when discussing schools, 82% of the households favoured a parochial junior school, and in exactly half of these the reasons given were related directly to ideals of parish unity and solidarity. The preference was stated immediately and emphatically, but the reason often required a pause for thought. Forty-four per cent regarded the choice of a parish school as so obvious as not to require any justification. When asked for the reasons for their having said they preferred a parish junior school to an inter-parochial one they gave such answers as:

'Why?—Because I'm all in favour of a parish having its own school and controlling it.' (To further probe) 'Well, I suppose it is because I have always seen it and liked it.'

'Every parish should have its own school.' (To further probe) 'So that it will be its own.'

Typical of other answers received were:

'The children grow up with pride in their own parish and more interest in it.'

'The children get to know their own priests and think the world of them— and their priests know them well. It is good for them to have their own priests popping in and out.'

'The parents, teachers and priests can know one another.'

Distance was also an important consideration—particularly for mothers of young children.

There appeared to be general recognition that membership of a parish brought with it an obligation to maintain the parish and to support official parochial undertakings. Almost all those interviewed (95%) contributed regularly to parochial funds. Two thirds occasionally took part in parochial activities, and 48% of the households were represented in the various parish societies involving attendance at meetings and participation in social activities. The fact that only 4% of all the households in the sample contained members of non-parochial Catholic societies was, perhaps, an

indication of the extent to which Catholic life was bounded by parish boundaries. Moreover, only one third of the householders could name any Catholic society which did not exist in the parish of St. Catherine and three quarters of those who could do so had obtained their knowledge of such societies while parishioners of another parish in which those societies existed.

Among the householders interviewed there were a number, 25% of the sample, in which *all* the adults were members of some parish society. This group provided most of the responsible leaders of the parish and was very active in all fields of parish life. For the members of this group the parish and its activities were all-important and it appears true to say that their whole lives centred on the parish.[12] They appeared to be prepared to support any parish venture simply because it was a parish venture. The existence and loyalty of this nuclear group appeared to ensure the necessary voluntary help and established the high level of minimum attendance which characterised all activities in St. Catherine's. The value of such a reliable body of voluntary helpers was stressed, for example, by the leader of a well-known city dance band. He had refused a more lucrative engagement, he said, because he preferred to play at St. Catherine's annual ball. 'There are always enough men around to keep order,' he said, 'you know that the band won't have to get up halfway to throw the teddies out.' There appeared to be always enough women around also, and what was true of the annual ball was true of all parish undertakings. The faithful band of helpers was almost always the same and appeared to be largely made up of husbands and wives, parents and children—the 'handful of families which supplies the core of people around whom the lay parochial organizations revolve.'[13]

On the other hand, there was a large group whose lives appeared to be affected by the parish and parochial institutions only to a very limited extent. Of the households containing no members of a parish society—52.3% of the total number contained no member—only a negligible percentage took an active part in organising any parish events, had any regular contact with any parish society, or took part regularly in parish activities other than church services. Only 38% of these households said they took part in parish activities even occasionally. This dichotomy appeared to be known and, indeed, accepted by both priests and people. They regarded it as unfortunate but, somehow, inevitable.

It would appear, therefore, that the existence of the parish unit and the archetype of parochial unity and solidarity had a strong impact on the formal social relations of about a quarter of the householders in the sample, affected those of a further quarter to some extent and influenced those of the remainder to a very slight degree. The effects on informal social relations were still less marked. Twenty-two per cent of the households collectively, and individual members of a further 3%, attended Mass in a church other than the parish church. There was little evidence of a feeling of solidarity between individual parishioners. Lack of community spirit and mutual helpfulness was mentioned spontaneously in 25% of the interviews. An attempt was made to provide help for those of the parishioners who needed it through two small specialist societies and the officers of the general societies. These efforts were appreciated but they could reach only a limited number. The officers of the women's association, for example, appeared almost to play the rôle of 'local matrons.' They were sought in emergencies and could be relied on to turn up in times of crisis. A young mother related how her child had got a sweet stuck in its throat the previous day and she 'had to run down the road to Mrs. X with the child crowing in her arms.' Mrs. X had, of course, been equal to the occasion as she had been equal to so many others in the past. A duty for which these 'matrons' appeared to be called on particularly was that of laying out the dead. All those mentioned in the interview were Catholics and, in fact, as has been said, all were prominent among the Catholics of the parish. From enquiries it was learned, however, that they had their counterparts outside the Catholic group. It seems possible that it was the frequent concomitance of spiritual and temporal need in the same situations that brought the Catholic 'matron' on the scene in the case of Catholics.

The need for organised assistance seemed to be felt most in the newer areas of the parish. This may have been because the households in these sections consisted more often of nuclear family units (in the usual sociological sense) who were distant from their kin in other parts of the city. The available assistance was greatly appreciated by this group and the hope that it would be extended was expressed by three quarters of those who raised the matter. It was support and friendship that was desired, not financial aid, and almost all stated that they were prepared to be helpers as well as helped if a scheme of mutual assistance could be organised.

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The bond produced among parishioners by membership of the same parish appeared to be rather tenuous. It was true that almost all those interviewed knew who the other Catholics living in their street were, and that this was the case even among the recently arrived parishioners on the new estate. But there was little indication that friendship generally resulted. Even acquaintance with neighbouring Catholics was limited, though this did not apply to the residents of the old area where, it was said, everyone knew and was on good terms with everyone else. Only those active in parish work knew many other Catholics by name—except, of course, in the old area. Examples of helpfulness were encountered but appeared to be personal efforts and not part of any institutionalized pattern of behaviour expected of parishioners. There were some complaints from those not born in the parish that they had been there for years and knew hardly anyone. The most recent arrivals gave an impression of not being well integrated into the parish structure.

Catholics did not appear to support the businesses of their fellow parishioners to any marked degree, nor was there any suggestion that they should do so. They did not appear to be favoured by fellow-parishioners in positions of responsibility. This was made a matter of quite bitter complaint at times by persons who thought they ought to be so favoured. 'It doesn't seem to make any difference to some people that you are from the same parish. A foreman will kneel beside you on Sunday and pass you over on Monday.' There was some suggestion of discrimination on grounds of religion being suffered in some spheres, but that is a point which is not relevant to the present discussion.

In general, the existence of the parish unit and the acceptance of an ideal of unity and solidarity between parishioners did not appear to affect the relations of Catholics and Non-Catholics. Ninety per cent of those interviewed said they had Non-Catholic friends. Numbers of Non-Catholics took part in all the recreational activities organised by the parish. Slightly more than half the regular clientèle of the weekly domino drive was said to be Non-Catholic. This was in fact the case on the seven occasions the investigators attended the domino drive and it was stated that the proportion would be about the same at any general recreational activity. The weekly dance was an exception. Only a few Non-Catholics attended it, but it was not very popular with Catholics either. The parish's annual ball and annual fête appeared to be regarded as outstanding events by all in the area.

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To sum up, then, the ideal of the parish as a social unit was accepted in the abstract by almost all the parishioners. This ideal appeared to influence the thought of Catholics to a noteworthy extent but loyalty appeared to be, so to speak, directed upwards towards the institution itself rather than in a horizontal direction towards the individuals of whom the institution was composed. The archetype of parish unity and solidarity appeared to have little impact on the day-to-day lives of the parishioners. There was little evidence of any general consciousness of obligations of solidarity towards other parishioners. In general, the existence of the parochial unit appeared to have little effect on informal social relations in the area. Formal relations appeared to be affected to some extent in as much as a sense of obligation towards parochial undertakings influenced the activities of Catholics. This sense of loyalty to the parish appeared to perform a useful social function for the area as a whole, because through it numerous activities could be efficiently and successfully organised.

II.

There appeared to be three major factors which in combination were to a large extent responsible for the growth and continuance of the situation just described. The relation of the parish to the wider ecclesiastical system determined the general form of parish organisation, and influenced the social attitudes of priests and people. Within the parish, the relationships between the priests and parishioners and the structure of parish societies appeared to be the two most important factors. These three influences interacted and in turn influenced each other, and could not be separated in reality. For purposes of clarity, however, they will be dealt with separately.

In this discussion the comparative socio-economic homogeneity of the parishioners and their position as a religious minority are only relevant in that they may have provided a climate in which the specific situation described above was brought about. That is to say, although they might be of interest, for example, in a study of the Catholics of Liverpool as a whole, they can hardly be said to be positive formative factors in the creation and maintenance of a parish unit distinct and separate from the other adjoining Catholic parishes of a similar composition. This would also be true of the common ethnic background which existed to a considerable extent among the parishioners. Moreover, supernatural bonds and spiritual factors may be

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regarded as prerequisites to effective parochial organisation and they were considered by those interviewed to provide a necessary motivation and assistance for those on whose efforts the maintenance of the social life of the parish depended. But these factors are not directly relevant to the researches described in the paper and they are therefore not discussed in it.

Ecclesiastical organisation and the parish

Throughout the entire structure of the Catholic Church in Liverpool great emphasis was placed on the parish unit by ecclesiastical authorities and it was presented at local level as the accepted unit of Catholic life. Churches, infant and secondary modern schools and other necessary buildings were the responsibility of individual parishes. Even inter-parochial secondary modern schools provided an illustration of this attitude. The amount to be raised to pay for these schools was divided among the parishes for which they catered and a specified sum was fixed to be paid annually by each parish. Indeed, financial contributions and collections of all kinds, even those for diocesan purposes, were made on a parochial basis.

Religious, social and recreational activities were generally organised on a parish basis. In the area of the study such activities were held frequently in the inter-parochial secondary modern school but were always organised by one parish, the profits going to the parochial funds of that parish. One parish had the use of the school on New Year's Eve, another on St. Patrick's Day, another on Whit Monday, and so on. On three occasions during the year of the study, when there was a dance or social organised by one parish in the inter-parochial secondary modern school, one of the adjoining parishes had an attraction of its own in its own hall. The greater part of the financial profits of these separate activities appeared to be for the same end—to repay the debt on the inter-parochial secondary modern school. A question on the interview schedule regarding inter-parochially organised socials and dances produced the comment that the idea was a new one and in 20% of the households the opinion was expressed that such *would* be their preference if a choice existed. As far as could be ascertained there had never been any such activity sponsored jointly by two or more parishes up to the time of the study. The only contacts between similar groups in adjoining parishes appeared to be the billiards and darts matches necessitated by participation in local leagues.

The parish unit was also emphasised through its being the unit of the pastoral apostolate of the clergy. In addition to rights vested exclusively in the parish priest by canon law there were conventions and customs which were generally observed. Briefly, except with permission or in special circumstances or emergencies it was simply not approved that a priest who did not belong to a parish should perform any priestly function within the parish boundaries.

Priest and People

Writing of the 'annual treat' of a Liverpool parish J. B. Mays remarks that 'one cannot help on these and similar occasions being impressed by the close identification of priests, teachers and parishioners'.[14] In St. Catherine's the teachers appeared to have a less prominent rôle but there could be little doubt regarding the good relations of priests and parishioners.

The priest-interviewer received a first indication of the place of the priests of the parish in the life of the parishioners when he made his initial approach to the various householders. In 85% of his interviews he was invited in and made welcome before he had offered any explanation for his having called, or even had had an opportunity of doing so. Typical of the reception he received was that at the house of a young married couple with a daughter of three years of age.

The door was half-opened to his knock and a young woman looked out. Then as the interviewer prepared to begin his explanation she opened the door completely saying very cordially, 'Oh, come in, Father,' and immediately led him towards the kitchen, saying over her shoulder 'my husband is just having his breakfast—he is on shifts.' Interviewer (approaching kitchen): 'Don't let me disturb . . .' Husband: 'Come in, Father,—will you have a cup of tea?' (Meanwhile he shook hands). Wife (bringing over baby daughter) 'And this is Sandra.—Say hello to Father, Sandra.'

(In 24% of the interviews conducted by the priest-interviewer the door was opened by a male and in each of the cases he was invited in, without having made any explanation). Some explanation was required of the priest-interviewer in 8% and a full explanation had to be given before he was admitted in 7% of the households.

The interviews appear to indicate clearly that in the relations between the priests of the parish and the people the central place was held by the visits paid by the priest to the homes of the parishioners. Forty-nine per cent of those interviewed placed visiting first among the duties of the priest other than saying Mass and administering the sacraments. In answer to the question 'Do you have any contact with the priests of the parish?' every single person answered affirmatively.

In 4% of the households the contact was limited to an occasional call by the priests. The remainder of the householders said that they were visited by the priest about every six weeks. Twenty-eight per cent said that in addition to being visited they were in contact with the priests at parish activities or through casual meetings, for example, in the street.

The programme of visiting was based on short visits to the home of every parishioner once every six weeks and longer visits three or four times a year. Eighty-four per cent of those interviewed had been visited by a priest of the parish in the six weeks prior to their interview. A further 10% stated that it was more than six weeks since the priest had been in the house but that there would be some special reason for that, such as that they were all out when he called.

The six-weekly visiting was highly organised. From interviews with the parish priest it was learned that it followed a strict rota and was, therefore, a matter of six weeks precisely. The parishioners' estimates varied from 'monthly' to 'every six weeks.' They were in no doubt as to its regularity, however. Some typical answers to the question 'Do you have any contact with the priests of the parish?' were:

'The priest calls regularly once a month. It is read out [at the Masses on Sunday] so we wait in that night.'

'We see quite a lot of the priest—every five or six weeks he comes. He can't come every week because two priests couldn't possibly.'

'Contact? Very little. The priest can only call once in six weeks now, and then only for ten or fifteen minutes. It was once a month but the parish has grown.'

Wife: 'Once a month for a few minutes.' Husband: 'Not half enough.' Wife: 'We would like more.' Husband: 'But then there are only two priests here, of course.' Wife: 'And they are always there if we want them.'

Some indication of the attitude of the parishioners to this regular visit could already be seen in the answers to the question on contact. Further indications came in the answers to the next question: 'What purposes do the visits of the priests serve?' With a few exceptions those interviewed appeared to like the visits and to look forward to them. Apart from explicit statements to this effect in 36% of the households there were the expressions of regret that the priest did not call more often and was usually in a hurry when he made his regular visit. In view of the fact that an announcement was made the 10% who, as mentioned above, said that they must have been out when the priest last called would have to be classed as at least indifferent, although the occurence might have been a genuine accident. The 4% who stated that the priest only called 'occasionally' were

made up, in equal proportions, of those who had 'had a row with the priest' and those who had long since given up going to church and were well on the way to severing all connection with the Church. One of the latter, a woman of about sixty years of age, answered the question 'What purposes do the visits of the priests serve?' with:

'To torment me, that is what. I haven't been to Church for thirty years and I don't intend going but he still comes every six weeks just to annoy me. My husband goes [to Church] but he works shifts and is nearly always out when the priest calls—I'm getting tired of it.'

Other more typical answers were:

A young married couple: 'The priest gets to know the people really well. And the people get to know him.'

A middle aged couple: Wife: 'I don't know—you can talk to the priest when you wouldn't talk to anyone else.' Husband: 'Yes and what is more it keeps back-sliders up to scratch.'

A young man who 'tried to get to Mass and the sacraments regularly but sometimes slipped': 'When you see the priest come in your conscience automatically jumps.'

Middle-aged couple: Husband: 'Keep in touch.' Wife: 'Always glad to see them. When the priest comes you give more in the collection.' Husband: 'More important, you can tell them what you don't like, air your view,—you can't answer back to him in the pulpit.' Wife: 'Tom [the husband] and the parish priest are at loggerheads at the moment. No ladies in the club is his big grouse. Fr. Jenkins won't have it and we don't agree with that—'

The general pattern of replies was as follows. In 77% of the households it was stated that the visiting enabled the priests to get to know the people and the people to become familiar with the priests. The 'opportunity to discuss things' was mentioned in 42%. Vague answers such as 'it is grand to have the priest call' and 'we look forward to the visit of the priest' were made in 36%. In 29% it was made clear that the occasion was one on which it was customary to make a contribution to the parochial funds. That the visit helped those tending to 'fall away from the faith' was mentioned in 11% of the households.

Somewhat critical answers were given in 5% of the interviews. The suggestion was that the increase in the size of the parish and the continual multiplication of the duties of the priests were militating against the personal nature of the visits and that the priests might soon begin to have only a superficial knowledge of the affairs of the parishioners.

A point to notice is that in the replies quoted there is continual reference to 'the priest' although there were two priests in the parish and the normal procedure was that they alternated in visiting the homes in each district. The usage of referring to 'the priest' was

general throughout the whole series of interviews and there could be no doubt it was the ordinary practice. This would appear to be an indication that the visiting was an institutionalised pattern of behaviour in which priest and people had their respective rôles. This conclusion was also confirmed by the priest-interviewer in the course of participating in the parochial life of another parish. The visit was a pastoral visit and the individual personality of the priest appeared to be to a large extent absorbed in the rôle.

Visiting the sick and the dying was another important activity of the priests. One of the priests appeared to visit the sick of the parish almost every week and it was expected that the dying would be visited daily or more often.

The priests spent some time at all gatherings of parishioners from sodality meetings to dances and domino drives. They were to be seen regularly in the men's club and in the youth club. They spent some time in the school almost every day.

In their success in maintaining personal contact with their parishioners the priests of St. Catherine's would appear to differ from many of their colleagues in parts of America, the continent of Europe and the urban centres of Ireland. In St. Catherine's there had not been 'the substitution of indirect, "secondary" for direct, "face-to-face" relations in the associations of individuals and communities' as described by Robert E. Park in his studies of life in the city and cited by François Houtart as typical of the position in Catholic parishes in the United States.[15]

At the same time, however, their system, sociologically considered, did appear to suffer from a serious defect. Their method of apostolate centred on the individual. This it must do to some extent since sanctification is a personal responsibility and achieved ultimately through the relations of the individual with God. The system of apostolate in St. Catherine's appeared, however, to be designed for parishioners as individuals isolated from their social context. This non-advertance to the structure of social life and the implicit acceptance of the 'rabble hypothesis' was particularly evident in the sphere of parish societies and associations which must now be considered as they appeared to be the third major factor affecting the social structure of the parish.

Parish societies

The parish societies were characteristically mass associations,

organised on a basis of age, sex, and, in the case of women, marital status. Even the family group, so strongly emphasised in Catholic social thought, appeared to be ignored.

It has already been pointed out that less than 30% of the parishioners took an active part in the parish societies and that they were dominated by a central nucleus of leaders. In the circumstances it was not surprising that allegations that the parish societies consisted of cliques were made in 27% of the interviews and were implicit in remarks made in a further 5%. These householders said that they themselves or someone they knew had gone along to a society meeting and 'felt out of it' and almost unwanted. A common allegation was that the parish societies were the exclusive domain of the 'born parishioners':

'Some people are very exclusive. They don't want outsiders, even of twenty-seven years' standing.'

A breakdown by place of birth of members and non-members did not substantiate the allegation, however.

A more likely hypothesis would appear to be that the mass organisations contained within them a number of small groups. One group might then tend to dominate and the others were not catered for. Thus, for instance, there was only one organisation for all married women—The Union of Catholic Mothers. It was in fact dominated by the older age-group whose families were reared and who probably had more time to devote to it. In the sample only three mothers of young families were members. Mothers of young families claimed that not only did it not cater for their interests but that the organisation of its activities did not even allow for their difficulties. They referred to it as the 'union of Catholic grandmothers.' The example given refers to an interest group in a very wide sense, yet there was no provision for its obvious needs. The suggestion is that this was true of smaller groups also.

As has been said, almost all the parish activities were organised by or through the various societies. This aggravated the results of minority group domination. The leaders felt over-worked and others willing to work felt frustrated. Ninety-six per cent of those active in the parish societies were regularly engaged in the organisation or running of at least one other parish activity. Only four per cent of those who were not society members were so engaged and, in fact, only six per cent of the non-members said they regularly took part in parish activities in any capacity.

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The non-active parishioners were not entirely cut off from the parish. The regular visiting of the homes by the priests has already been discussed. Another important link was through their regular contributions to the funds of the parish. The responsibility of parishioners for building and maintenance of the parochial property entailed considerable financial commitment. The property of the parish consisted of the church, presbytery, schools, men's club, youth club and parish hall. The average annual expenditure appeared to be in the region of £4,500. In 89% of the interviews reference was made to the strain which finding this amount caused. Most often the reference was to the cost of the schools:

'A thousand pounds a year has to be found to pay for the St. John Fisher [the secondary modern school] and then there is a debt of £5,000 on the parish school and another on the youth club.'

The extent of individual contributions varied but, as has been said, there were very few indeed of those interviewed who did not contribute regularly. There were three references (1.5%) to 'the priest having to be always looking for money' but the general consensus was that although the strain was great it was 'well worth it' and 'if everyone does their bit it isn't too bad at all.' In the opinion of the investigators this giving towards parochial funds, particularly at some personal inconvenience, appeared to foster loyalty to the parish, interest in parochial affairs and a sense of involvement in the life and destiny of the parish. Moreover, the house-to-house collectors on their weekly rounds acted also as an important means of disseminating information and as useful links between the central nucleus and the parishioners as a whole.

Attendance at services in the parish church also formed a link for those who took part in them. Not all the parishioners did so, however. As has been said, 22% of the households collectively and individual members of a further 3% attended Sunday Mass in a church other than the parish church. This appeared to be due to a great extent to the fact that the houses of a number of parishioners were along the routes of buses running to other churches, whereas the only bus serving the parish church was of little benefit to parishioners. (On the other hand it brought people from another parish to the services in St. Catherine's church). The parish priest did not approve of parishioners' going to other churches. In a household on the bus-route to another church the following statement was made:

'We used to hop on the bus and go to St. William's. Then Fr. Jenkins [the

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parish priest] asked us were we going at all and said we should go to the parish church. So now we go to St. Catherine's except on a really bad morning when we take the bus to St. William's. Droves of people go to St. William's from around here. It is so handy.'

Typical of the general attitude, however, was:

'We always go to St. Catherine's. It is all a matter of habit and people should get into the habit of going to their parish church.'

The non-active majority of the parishioners were not, then, isolated from the parish but their contact was as individuals on specified occasions and did not appear to form an integral part of their daily lives or influence appreciably their social relations. This situation, in which the structure of parochial organisations appeared to play a large part, would appear to favour that secularization of the daily way of life so decried by Christians yet so often said to be encountered in a modern urban environment.

Conclusion

Many of the differing aspects of consciousness and practice with regard to the ideal of parochial unity and solidarity described earlier would appear to derive to a considerable extent from the three factors just discussed i.e. the relation of the parish to the wider ecclesiastical system, the nature of the relationship between priests and people and the structure of the parish societies. Other aspects may be, perhaps, the result of contemporary conditions. Thus, for example, Mass attendance outside the parish church appeared to be closely related to the existing bus routes. Contemporary conditions also appeared to affect the extent to which the parish unit could be a reality in the lives of the parishioners and assist them in their efforts to meet their problems.

A small parish appeared to be too restricted a framework within which to attempt to meet the multiple problems of the modern urban environment. A parish unit containing about two thousand Catholics can hardly cater for more than the larger interest groups among its parishioners. A team of two priests in a small parish may be able to keep in contact with all their parishioners but they would find it difficult to provide specialised knowledge in more than a small number of spheres. Thus, specialised needs such as more comprehensive Catholic adult education, and services such as youth welfare work, are faced with a situation which is tantamount to a dilemma. If they are organised on a parochial basis their efficiency, if not their

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existence, will be imperilled. If they are organised on a supra-parochial basis the current attitude makes it difficult for them to receive support. This problem becomes more acute with increasing differentiation and specialisation in urban communities. Organisation based almost exclusively on a parochial unit may be viable in a rural area and to a limited extent with a more or less homogeneous community; in contemporary urban conditions such a system in its extreme form appears to be to some extent an example of the tendency to cling to past solutions and social patterns after they cease to be pertinent to a new situation. It would appear that although a system such as that in operation in the parish of St. Catherine's may maintain the consciousness of the ideal, this ideal may have but a limited impact on many aspects of the lives of most parishioners and the unit itself may not perhaps be pragmatically satisfactory in the conditions of a modern city.

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[1] *Census 1851, England and Wales, Religious Worship*, London, 1853.

[2] *British Weekly*, No. 1-8, 5th Nov.-24th Dec. 1886.

[3] Booth, C.: *Life and Labour of the People of London*, 3rd Series, *Religious Influences*, 7 Vols., London, 1902-3.
Mudie-Smith, R., (Ed.): *Religious Life of London*, London, 1904.

[4] Birnbaum, N.: 'La sociologie de la religion en Grande-Bretagne,' *Archives de Sociologie des Religions*, 1 année, No. 2, (Juillet-Décembre 1956), pp. 3-16 Cf.pp. 13-16.

[5] *Loc. cit.* p. 10.

[6] Wickham, E. R.: *Church and People in an Industrial City*, London, 1957, pp. 219-220.

[7] Those familiar with the writings of Joseph H. Fichter will notice that our findings agree in some respects and differ in others. There are similarities too with the Anglo-Catholic parish among the four studied by R. H. T. Thompson (*The Church's Understanding of Itself*, London, 1957). E. C. Hughes provides some interesting comparative data in *French Canada in Transition*, London, 1946. Very little worthwhile comparison can be made with continental studies of specific parishes such as J. Chélini: *Gènese et évolution d'une paroisse suburbaine Marseillaise*, Marseille, 1953; E. Pin: *Pratique religieuse et Classes sociales dans une paroisse urbaine*, Paris, 1955; M. A. Censi: 'Una indagine campione in una parrocchia urbana,' *Orientamenti sociali*, IX, 1953, NN. 11-23.

[8] The random sample was composed of 150 households. There were four refusals and three cases where the interviews could not be carried out, Maximum possible sampling error, including correction for a finite universe of 443 households was estimated at 3.3%. The criterion for the distinction of a household was a common table and purse. For purposes of the enquiry the parishioner was defined as a person baptised a Catholic and living within the boundaries of the parish who had not severed all connection with the Catholic Church.

[9] Castle, I. M., and Gittus, E.: 'The distribution of Social Defects in Liverpool,' *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1, New Series, (July 1957), pp. 43-64.

[10] Harbrecht, J. J.: *The Lay Apostolate*, St. Louis, 1929, p. 20.

[11] Fitzsimons, J.: 'The Life of the Parish,' *Worship*, XXVI, No. 6, (May 1952), p. 304. See also id. 'Progress in Religious Sociology,' *The Clergy Review*, Vol. XLI, No. 10, New Series, (Oct. 1956), p. 586.

[12] Cf. Fichter's nuclear parishioners. Fichter, J. H.: *Social Relations in the Urban Parish*, Chicago, 1954, esp. pp. 21-39 and 157-162.

[13] Fichter: *op. cit.*, p. 157

[14] Mays, J. B.: *Growing up in the City*, Liverpool, 1954, p. 58.

[15] Park, R. E.: *Human Communities*, (Vol. II of collected papers edited by E. C. Hughes at alii), Glencoe, 1952, p. 32.
Houtart, F.: 'Priests in the City,' *Social Order*, Vol. V, No. 4, (April 1955), pp. 172-173.

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CULTURAL CONFORMITY IN URBAN AREAS: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE CROWN STREET STUDY IN LIVERPOOL*

John Barron Mays

Although our knowledge of the lives of the deviants, the misfits and the delinquents who come to the notice of the social services is constantly increasing, we still know very little indeed about the many millions of ordinary people who live in the great conurbations. This is handicapping because, in the absence of reliable data on which to base their decisions, the politicians, the planners and both local and national administrative officials have perforce to rely upon conjecture and common sense. And conjecture, however shrewd and common sense, however sturdy, can sometimes lead them astray. This is why enquiries such as the one recently carried out by the Institute of Community Studies in Bethnal Green, which deal with the relationships, aspirations, ideas and interests of ordinary people born and bred in the heart of a vast, modern, urban community are so important. Many more such studies will have to be undertaken before sufficient data are available for the development of a native, British, urban sociology.

An interdepartmental team from Liverpool University composed of sociologists, economists and architects with specific interest in civic design and planning, has, during the past two and a half years, been engaged in considering the diverse problems presented by the imminent task of rebuilding parts of the inner residential zone of the city. The area under consideration is almost entirely a nineteenth century creation, and consists of about five hundred and fifteen acres

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lying adjacent to the commercial centre, a small part of which is occupied by the precincts of the University itself. The area covers two whole electoral wards and a small portion of a third, and has a population estimated at a little over 45,00 people. The task of the sociologists has been to supply information about the general social background of the area and to draw up what might well be termed a preliminary social map against which the problems of redevelopment may be interpreted and understood. The assembly of such information was also valuable as the preliminary stage of a much fuller study of the institutional life and social structure (including both formal and informal associations) which the Department of Social Science intends to develop on its own account. Information was obtained by administering a questionnaire to a random sample of one in twenty (five hundred and seventy-four) households within the prescribed area and was eked out by general observation, by visits to local institutions and organisations such as the schools and youth clubs, and supplemented by material made available from the census returns of the Registrar General.

The area chosen for the study was selected on account of the heterogeneity of its housing and because it probably represented a fair specimen of the decayed inner residential areas of a not atypical Victorian city. It incorporated parts of the 1951 census conurbation Zones 2A and 2B and its social history has followed a somewhat different pattern from that of either the business centre or the dockside neighbourhoods. The whole of the area, called for the purposes of convenience 'Crown Street,' after one of its principal thoroughfares, was not conceived or built as a single unit nor was it designed for single class occupation. The great squares and tree-lined boulevards, the fine terraces and mansions in the region of the University and near to the Anglican Cathedral were carefully planned to accommodate business men in the early boom days of the nineteenth century as contrasted with the monotonous rows of bye-law cottages intended for the workers and the less-socially-favoured classes which predominate in the bulk of the area. A further variation has been introduced during the inter-war years by the erection of large blocks of flats under the city's general slum clearance scheme.

Much of the area, particularly the one time middleclass zone adjacent to the University and the Cathedral, is in a state of general decline. This is visible in the physical decay which characterises many of the buildings and properties, in the wholesale sub-letting of

most of the larger houses and the acknowledged presence of families and individuals of low social status, many of whom present problems and are in constant touch with the various welfare services. The extent to which Crown Street has become an area for redevelopment is exemplified by the fact that in a recent Local Authority Housing Survey no less than three-quarters of its buildings were found unfit as defined in the 1954 Act and to be in need of major repair or eligible for demolition, a much higher figure than for the city as a whole.

Economic decline is observable in the decreased value of the locality to the local authority in terms of rateable values and in the greatly reduced numbers of shops and other business premises. Social decline is observable in many parts but it is by no means universal. The influx of foreign and colonial born immigrants and the presence of 'problem' and 'near problem' families, in conjunction with the departure of most of middle-class families and of the local Jewish community to other more desirable neighbourhoods, are undoubted facts which are much lamented by the core of solid, respectable working-class people who have been left behind and who are convinced that the area has degenerated 'since the gentry left.' It is not possible to pin-point the exact moment when the area began to decline but there are reasons for believing that the process was first perceptible in the late-Edwardian period and became greatly accelerated during the inter-war years when Liverpool as a whole passed through a period of great trade recession and unemployment.

It was also during these inter-war years that the local authority commenced the re-building of some of the worst parts of the area, replacing condemned cottages by blocks of flats, some with their own play spaces and their own shops incorporated in the general scheme. These flats were occupied not only by displaced local residents but also by large numbers of families who had previously been living in the dockside communities where conditions of overcrowding had been exceptionally severe. It is interesting to record that these households were found to be the most contented of all types of dwellers in the Crown Street sample and were in the main satisfied with existing conditions and not keen to leave the district, although there were complaints about the noise of the neighbours and the extreme difficulty of 'keeping oneself to oneself' when necessary. This modifies a comparatively widely held belief that most residents in corporation flats are unsettled and dissatisfied.

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Crown Street as a whole is a residential area: light industry occupying a negligible proportion of available space. 71% of those people in employment are engaged in manual tasks. Not only are the workers of Crown Street predominantly manual but there are comparatively fewer semi-skilled workers there than in other parts of the city. This is not nearly so true of one subsector nearest the city centre where there are a number of professional and non-manual workers, including teachers and certain higher grade business men and women who find it more convenient to live centrally in more spacious accommodation than to retreat into the suburbs for which some have a positive dislike. It is a striking fact that this area, which possesses a middleclass minority, is the one that is most generally agreed to be in a condition of social decline. There is clearly little interaction between the two groups of residents.

Households are still, despite the existence of a large roominghouse district, mainly made up of single families occupying one address. The concept of the household was generally found to be more appropriate in analysing the results of the survey in preference to the more usual one of the family. Not only did it cover all types of ménage and all conditions of cohabitation encountered, so long as the inmates even when not linked by ties of consanguinity or marriage shared a common houskeeping purse and ate at a common table, but it facilitated direct comparison with material made available by the Census statistics.

As far as the total population of Crown Street is concerned the survey ascertained that rather more were willing to remain more or less where they were then living than wished to be rehoused in more suburban districts or in the newer and remoter housing estates. 61% opted to remain in Inner Liverpool, but of these a fairly substantial proportion (36%) were dissatisfied with their present accommodation and desired to have new houses or flats in the same locality. Their objections were directed not so much against the locality itself as against the sub-standard housing. Given decent living conditions they not only had no apparent objection to living in an area of presumed social decline but found certain positive advantages accrued from their continued residence there. What these advantages are will be discussed later in this paper; meanwhile it is only necessary to note that what may be called potentially well adjusted urban-dwellers exist and in fairly substantial numbers. This is at once a rebuke to those obsessed with the garden suburb mirage and a challenge to the local authority to take full cognizance of their existence and to do all in

their power to make conditions in such inner urban areas more viable and culturally enriching.

The whole area turned out to be much more stable than had been originally expected, defining stability for this purpose in terms of length of residence within the prescribed limits of the Inner City wards.

50% of all the heads of households interviewed had been living in the district for ten years, many for considerably longer periods. A higher proportion were born and bred there and nearly three-quarters of all the heads of households, including both the men and women heads, had been born either in Crown Street or in the various neighbouring wards and had not, therefore, strayed far from their paternal hearths. Moreover, relatively to other parts of Liverpool the Crown Street area seemed numerically more stable. Between the censuses of 1921 and 1951 the population had fallen by 20% only. This decrease was, in part, due to natural causes i.e. excess of death over birth rates, and partly due to migration outwards both of a voluntary nature and as a result of civic housing schemes.

As far as can be judged (since we have no precise information regarding much earlier days) the nuclear family consisting only of husband, wife and their offspring as opposed to the multi-generation household comprising grandparents and sometimes grandchildren, is becoming increasingly more normal for the area. This does not mean, however, that ties of kinship can altogether be ignored or that they are likely to perish entirely. When the heads of households were asked whom they would turn to for help in times of sickness or stress, the majority stated that it was towards relatives that they would look rather than neighbours, and this was true in many cases where people had no relatives living nearer than in the remoter housing estates. As against this more positive aspect of the kinship bond, however, was the fact that there was a minority of households with relatives living either within Crown Street itself or in its neighbouring wards who were not on regular visiting terms and hence not on terms of close intimacy, although this picture may be somewhat exaggerated by the fact that no account was taken of the deaths of the householders' parents or of other relatives who formerly lived nearby. On balance the men were more inclined to lose touch with their relatives than the women who generally seemed to undertake the responsibility for maintaining contact with parents and kinsfolk. There was also a generally observable matrilocal tendency amongst many of the

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households and a particularly strong link between a married daughter and her mother, a fact which has been equally and more strongly born out by congruent studies in Bethnal Green,[1] in the St. Ebbe's district of Oxford[2] and in 'Radby,'[3] the assumed name of the midland town investigated by research workers of the University of Nottingham. Women, when they marry, tend to settle down as closely as possible to their own parents' home. In some case this even implies living in the same house and sharing rooms. This tendency to settle down near the wife's rather than near the husband's original home reflects a perfectly comprehensible practical preference and need not be interpreted as necessarily implying an unusually deep emotional attachment to 'Mum' over-riding the intimacy of the married relationship. There is no reason in most cases to believe that Mum ousts all others in the claim for her daughter's affection or that she occupies an unassailable position. There is in all classes and social groups a universal freemasonry of married women whose lives are, as it were, professionally dedicated to child care and the business of running a home. Nothing is more natural than that a married daughter would want to be near her own mother to draw upon her experience and support during her own early days of childrearing and housekeeping.

Although the fieldwork undertaken for this survey was not directly concerned with relationships within families, what evidence was obtained suggests that there is a general tendency, probably increasing in momentum, for the more peripheral kinship relationships to become less important and be more of a latent force, and for the husband-wife and parent-child relationships to assume even greater importance than formerly. It is almost certainly true that, compared with half a century and more ago, the wider loyalties of the extended family are diminishing in importance as a result of the conditions of life in modern urban communities. More and more tasks which formerly were the responsibility of the extended family have been taken over by both statutory and voluntary social services. It is becoming much easier for the nuclear family, not only to survive as a distinct unit, but also to live quite successfully unto itself if it so desires, with the assistance of social agencies, without being obliged to make frequent calls upon kinsfolk for help, guidance or companionship. But that this is not the whole of the story, the answers which householders gave to the questions 'If you were ill and needed looking after, who would do this for you and who would look after your housework and children?' made clear. The kinship group and the extended family, then, seem

to be in a transitional stage and with the various tendencies somewhat contradictory. The nuclear family, in the conditions of a Welfare State, tends to live more unto itself. But, at the same time, many people would prefer to turn to relatives than to their neighbours for help in time of distress. Kinship ties are still acknowledged but there is probably a tendency for them to merge into the background rather than to occupy the foreground of most city-dwellers' lives.

This observation is further borne out by the fact that people's willingness to remain in the Crown Street area or their desire to move away were not found to be significantly related to the presence or absence of either blood relatives or in-laws living in the district. Desire to move (which was one of the main points on which the whole enquiry hinged) was found to be related to other and more cogent factors than the presence of relatives and to be bound up with the supposed welfare of the individuals in the primary or nuclear family or household rather than in any attempt to maintain cohesion of the kinship group.

People do not all want to remove from the Inner Liverpool wards: nor do all those who wish to move and all those who wish to remain want to do so for the same reasons. Age seems to be an important determinant and, inseparable from age, household structure. Those heads of household over fifty were generally less inclined to want to pick up their roots and settle down in an entirely new environment miles from their old homes and their well-known haunts. On the other hand, those with children still under fifteen were much more eager to depart and to accept the difficulties of adjustment involved. Their reasons were usually related to the welfare of the children who they thought would be healthier in a less smoky atmosphere, with open spaces available for play; they would, moreover, have a better start in life as a result of the opportunity of attending more modern schools with higher academic standards.

One factor strongly in support of the desire to remain in the area was proximity to work. 60% of all the employed householders were working near the city centre and waterfront for whom a removal to a housing estate or more distant suburb would entail a longer and more expensive journey to work. The younger men and women without family responsibilities obviously enjoy the advantages not only of living close to their employment but of being within easy reach of the city's entertainment centre. To such late-teenages the proximity of the neon lights, the milk bars, the cinemas, theatres and shop-

windows of the Lime Street environs are particularly attractive.

Inner Liverpool has also a general convenience for shopping. Not only do the residents of Crown Street enjoy one or two quite good shopping centres in their own neighbourhood but they are also within a short distance of the great city stores where variety and bargains are to be had. Out in the new housing estates shopping is often a problem, involving a bus ride or a long step to get the daily provisions. Moreover, in an old locality like Crown Street, there are a fair number of small general shops, usually in single ownership, located here and there amidst the endless rows of houses, which are open nearly all day and the greater part of the evening for the convenience of local customers, providing the small quantities of groceries and and household goods, the tobacco and reading matter, to which the comparatively unplanned, hand-to-mouth budgetting, characteristic of the older neighbourhoods where money is apt to be spent as soon as it is earned, is attuned.

Such inner urban areas, then, like Crown Street, despite its decay, its dirty, sooty atmosphere, its inadequate houses and its often depressing, old schools, has much to offer its residents that they might not easily find elsewhere; things which they have come through long association to value, amenities and contacts which many are reluctant to forsake. This is a fact that the planners can learn from the sociologists and one which they would be wise to bear in mind not only in the redevelopment of the central city wards but also in the lay-out of the young estates and new neighbourhoods to which such people are likely to be moved.

Crown Street, like any other segment cut more or less arbitrarily from the main central urban body, is far from being a homogeneous unit. Nor indeed is there any good reason to believe that geographical contiguity and territorial proximity of streets or city wards are by themselves likely ever to produce a common way of life or a similar scheme of cultural values. The survey area of Crown Street is not in any sense of the term a community. If one may generalise, it seems to be more like an accumulation of small, sometimes, one suspects, very small, units or fragments of potential or disrupted communities. Urban life, with all its undoubted complexity of relationships, its high rate of social mobility and its generally impersonal character, does not make for a compact community as, for instance, a small agricultural village or sometimes a single street or court may be said to do. But there are certain broad patterns and common factors

discernible in certain portions of such areas, not spatially far apart, where it is possible to distinguish between differing ways of living, climates of opinion and social attitudes, as has indeed been shown by the Nottingham University study of certain 'black' and 'white' streets in the township of 'Radby.'

In the Crown Street Study the investigators found that they were constantly being obliged by the logic of the data to make comparisons and contrasts between two distinct parts of the research area, between specially clearly defined parts of the Abercromby and Low Hill wards, which for the purpose of this analysis will be called A and B. These two localities have a very different physical background and social structure and present a striking refutation of the idea that people with similar incomes living not far away from each other in inner urban areas and who, unfortunately, for the purpose of the national census may all too frequently be lumped together into a common geographical zone, can be thought of as a compact, homogeneous social group. It is worthwhile demonstrating the many differences between A and B because it suggests possible ways in which architecture and general physical lay-out are related to the ways of living and the social character that ultimately develops and takes root there. It is as though certain types of physical environment have definite potentialities for living which different sorts of resident may or may not eventually develop, depending upon their circumstances, education, social status, ambitions and on their concepts of what constitute both marriage and the family.

For the purpose of comparison and in order to highlight the effective contrasts between the two areas, the characteristics of A and B, are presented in tabular form.

A	B
Originally a comparatively well-planned spacious district with houses of dignity in squares and gardens, largely intended for middle-class residents.	Not unplanned but meanly conceived; intended for working-class residents; with a lower standard of comfort and amenity. Mainly bye-law cottages and terrace houses.
Many large houses.	No large houses.
Two-thirds of all accommodation in flats or rooms: 27% in flats, 40% in rooms.*	Majority of households in single houses.
48% of all households in shared dwellings.	Only 24% in shared dwellings.

More tenants and sub-tenants in occupation of property.	Many more owner-occupied houses.
Haunt of prostitutes: also brothels and illegal drinking clubs in district.	No brothels, illegal clubs or prostitutes.
Many immigrants; colonials, Irish, etc.	Few immigrants.
A temporary abode for some families: the zone of transition: the rooming-house area.	Comparatively much more stable and more rooted households.
More heads of households or wives born elsewhere, and even outside the country.	About twice as many heads of households or their wives born locally.
More professional people; 11% of all heads of households.	No professional people; majority of those heads of households in higher socio-economic group are small shopkeepers.
Lower proportion of heads of households living there for 10 years or more. Only 17% have been there for more than a decade.	Higher proportion of heads of households have lived there for 10 years or more. 40% of the heads have been there for a decade or more: 80% of widowed heads have been there for a decade or more.
More single heads of household than elsewhere in Crown Street.	Average number of single heads.
High proportion of young married heads of households under 40 years.	More heads of households 60 years and over.
More women heads of households than elsewhere in Crown Street.	
Less wage earners per household than average for Crown Street as a whole.	Average number of wage earners per household for Crown Street as a whole.
Smaller average family size than for whole Crown Street area.	Average family size.
Low interview refusal rate.	Higher interview refusal rate.

* There are no Corporation built flats in either area.

Such data assist in the clarification of such concepts as stability and mobility and their opposites when applied to localities rather than to single families. Sector A is a very mixed area combining elements of shabby genteel and dignified respectability existing side by side with social problems and poverty, mental illness and isolation. Elderly ladies, archaic relics of a vanished age, are still occasionally

to be found inhabiting faded Victorian houses bowed down under the weight of bric-à-brac and dust in streets where prostitutes run two-room flats; professional and business people in smart well-kept houses and flats and a handful of artists live side by side with the chronically unemployed and the coloured minority in semi-ruins of rack-rented decay. There are many unlegalised unions, many creeds and races (the local R.C. church hears confessions in six languages; Spanish, Italian, French, German, Polish, and English) and street fights, drug-trafficking, prostitution, the noise and destructiveness of undisciplined children add to the general impression of disorder and confusion. It is a complex picture, a chequered pattern of light and shade, of sunshine and shadow, with glimpses of unexpected beauty and forgotten dignity clouded over by the smoke and grime of latterday decay.

By comparison Sector B is more uniform and much more drab, gloomy with the dreariness of unimaginative respectability. Similarly built houses side by side in similarly constructed streets, polished doorknockers and well-scrubbed steps, with, here and there, a glimpse of aspidistra or china dog through parlour lace curtains, a certain quite self-conscious keeping of oneself to oneself, which is very different from merely being out of contact with most other people in the typical 'lonely crowd' of the endlessly proliferating metropolis.

The rough-respectable dichotomy cuts across both sectors to some extent. In both areas residents are to be found who declare that the neighbourhood has gone down 'since the war,' 'since the colour got in,' or 'since the Irish arrived.' One assumes that it was ever thus and will always be so.

What is fascinating is the fact that areas which geographically are both in the inner residential zone can nevertheless be so vastly different in their general character and behaviour. Within the compass of a few hundred acres it is possible to move from the more exciting multi-racial rooming-house district to the stolid ugliness of endless little streets and mean houses with their pervasive atmosphere of Victorian lower-class over respectability, the unimaginative and ugly product of an age innured to hard work, few comforts and hardly any freedom of expression. One can run the gamut, as it were, from the 'street of the shining doorknobs' to the street of 'kerb-crawlers' and shebeens, from the district where, in the graphic words of one resident, 'the black maria's here twice every night,' to the

calmer reaches at the extremity of the area where it is seldom required.

One of the surprising findings of the survey was the general dearth of interest in what may be termed 'organised social activities' as opposed to purely commercial entertainment and the companionship of the public house. In all, 358 households, or 62%, had none of their members of any age attached to any recognised social and recreative organisation. Only 9% of all households with children of school age had children who were members of youth organisations. The adolescents, those, that is to say, between school leaving age and twenty for whom the Youth Service was primarily intended, showed an even lesser degree of participation; only 2% of households with adolescents in the whole survey area had members of such youth groups. How far this represents a restless inability of the young people to settle down to the discipline of an ordered programme, how far it merely reflects a dearth of organisation and a general inadequacy of provision, is difficult to determine without a full scale and detailed historical enquiry.

There was found to be a significant association, however, between length of residence in the area and the attendance of members of households at those social and recreative organisations which did exist. This positive correlation is probably the result of a general settling in process whereby a family establishes itself in a locality and gradually begins to make contacts with the neighbours and the social institutions, an indication both of the individual family's social health and of the district's capacity to meet some of its basic needs.

Closely akin to the general lack of organised recreation was the almost universal lack of sustained enthusiasm for education and cultural pursuits. Few adults had any contact with any further educational organisation. Very few children secured places at either grammar or technical schools—only twelve boys and girls in the whole sample achieved more than a secondary modern education; a little under 3%, in fact, of all the children of school age and a mere fraction of those over eleven. There were, moreover, comparatively few households in the sample with youths serving apprenticeships or in any form of employment which could claim the status of a skilled trade. Only 10% of households had any members following any course of study in their spare time. Intellectually it would be fair to describe Crown Street as a desert, and educational sahara punctuated by a few struggling oases where clergy, social workers

and schoolteachers battle against the general indifference.

On the other hand, there was an equally surprising degree of contact with churches and religious institutions, which is not likely to be characteristic of other urban areas of a similar socio-economic pattern which lack the same high proportion of Roman Catholics to be found in Crown Street. 35% of all heads of households interviewed said they attended church regularly and that they were also visited by church representatives fairly often. A further fifty-three (9%) heads said that they attended some church but were not themselves visited by church officials. Altogether 257 households or 45% were found to be in contact with one or another of the local churches either as members or fairly regular attenders. Only 34% of the households were completely out of touch with the worshipping communities in every respect. These figures are much higher than for the country generally and suggest that the Crown Street area, for all its lack of organised leisure-time activities, reveals the existence of religious focal points which must exert an important influence on its social stability and general standard of behaviour.

The main interest arising from the preceding description of social conditions in the Crown Street district of Inner Liverpool is in the demonstration it affords of the fact that geographical proximity in no sense imposes cultural uniformity. The two sub-sections, A and B, have exemplified the more acute dissimilarities that may be discovered in such inner urban zones. However, different as the conditions in such sub-sectors are, they have at the same time certain things in common. The same general trends of urbanised culture are observable in both areas, despite the fact that these other differences occur. Among these common factors and trends may be listed: partiality for commercialised entertainment and mass amusement; a looking towards the city centre as a focus for both work and play; a modified kinship allegiance and a tendency for family life to be more contained within the nuclear family group which calls upon the wider kingroup only in times of emergency and stress; a strong likelihood for the women, when they marry, to settle down close to their own family of origin as opposed to their husbands'; above all, the residents of these areas have very little in common with those people who live in the dormitory suburbs or with the somewhat intellectualised culture of the grammar schools and the universities.

Such tendencies are common but not sufficiently powerful to

demarcate a specific way of life, as their unifying influence is limited by the many other things that the residents of these two types of area do not share together. There is, therefore, no sentiment of solidarity uniting the two groups and little or nothing of that community of interest which is necessary before a true neighbourhood may be said to exist. Furthermore, not only is there a considerable diversity of social life and physical conditions in such urban areas but there is also a divergence of views regarding the desirability of such districts as places of permanent residence. Those most attached to Crown Street were the older folk and those who were living on their own. Amongst this group were a number of business and professional people for whom a certain type of accommodation within the inner city zone had much to commend it. It was largely the younger married heads of households with children still of school age or under who expressed a keen desire to move elsewhere. The fact that over half the heads of Crown Street households expressed a willingness, and in some cases an eagerness, to go on living there is an interesting and perhaps surprising fact.

Clearly those who are obliged against their desire to leave such areas will be potentially as unadjusted and unhappy as those who find it impossible, because of financial or other reasons, to get away to a new life in a fresh locality. Some compromises will clearly be unavoidable and not all people will find planning decisions to their liking. Although the sociologist in isolation is not competent to pontificate on the vital issues involved, he can make a useful contribution to the common pool of knowledge by indicating in a general way what different sorts of people want and expect and what they do not want and expect, thus drawing attention to some of the sources of discomfort and anxiety which inevitably arise when large numbers of people have to be rehoused and when older neighbourhoods require revitalising.

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[1] Young and Wilmott: *Family and Kinship in East London,* Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957.

[2] J. M. Mogey: *Family and Neighbourhood,* Oxford, 1956.

[3] *The Social Background of Delinquency,* the University of Nottingham, 1954, an unpublished work quoted by permission of Professor W. J. H. Sprott.

THE SYSTEM OF DEMOCRACY IN BRITAIN

Leonard Tivey

There is an area of the study of politics, somewhere between the province of constitutional law and that of general political theory, which may be called constitutional theory. Its function is to analyse and to epitomize the political systems of particular countries, rather than to say anything applicable to the political life of all nations; though certainly what is gleaned from the study of a single case may turn out to be of wider interest. To this field belong various assertions of (among others) Montesquieu, Locke, Burke, Bagehot, Dicey and Jennings, about the merits of the British constitution and their causes. These assertions have formed, to a surprising degree, the assumptions and expectations of politicians about the framework in which they operate. Though assessments of other working constitutions have been made, the unwritten, flexible constitution of the United Kingdom has offered the most fertile ground for those writers who are not merely propounding legal principles, nor yet trying to give a full description of a 'way of life.'

This article is an attempt to contribute to this field. It considers the democratic element in British political arrangements (not in the British way of life, or British society). This is of great importance, but is by no means equivalent to a full consideration of a complete set of political arrangements. There are many ways of looking at a political system, of the greatest consequence, where the democratic criterion does not arise. A working constitution plays a part, for example, in uniting a nation; and it also may be a means of striking a balance between disparate groups—religious, racial, regional and so on—in a country. A political system is now, in an important sense, part of a nation's economic organisation. It is the means whereby collective defence and welfare services are organised. The merits of a country's government may properly be assessed by considering these or other matters, rather than its democratic qualities.

But democracy—liberal democracy—is in one way much more significant than these other aspects, for, as far as majority

opinion in western countries is concerned, it has pre-eminent value. No other quality of a political system in this view can atone for the absence of democratic methods and democratic freedoms. This is not a universal attitude in all parts of the world; but when considering democracy in Britain and like countries it is important to bear in mind that, in the general view, it is more than one major characteristic of the constitution among others—it is the one most to be prized, morally and emotionally.

The operation of the democratic system is often, however, subject to criticism; and much of this criticism is based on the alleged failure of the system to follow an ideal model of 'representative democracy.' This model represents the received or standard theory of how democracy works in Britain. It is as follows.

Democracy is held to be an arrangement whereby the people get what they want, and the political structure is held to be properly designed when it expressly enables them to fulfil their desires. The quality of a democracy is measured by the accuracy with which the opinions of the electorate (the mature population) are reflected in the actions of the Government. Reformers have attacked 'sinister interests,' the power of factions, pressure groups, the party system, the electoral system, capitalists and financiers and the House of Lords, all because they were thought to prevent the effective translation of the electorate's wishes. By now it is recognised, of course, that 'the people' are not agreed, and that effectively 'the people's will' means majority rule. Moreover, since modern countries are too large for direct democracy, there must be a representative system.

Given these assumptions and expectations, a model of the system emerges. Owing to the impossibility of universal assembly, elections are held at which representatives are chosen by majority-vote. These then frame laws and decide policies, again by majority-vote. An executive to carry these out is also appointed, directly or indirectly by a majority of the electorate. The people therefore get their demands satisfied by electing the appropriate representatives, who proceed to govern in the way necessary to satisfy these demands, disagreements at all stages being settled by counting heads.[1]

It may be urged that this is a very naïve theory, which no sophisticated political thinker believes adequate. Yet it is claimed to be the standard, received theory. Who in fact believes it?

Three degrees of belief may be distinguished. First, there are some definite, conscious believers. An examination of discussions of

either 'the mandate' or of proportional representation shows this readily enough. Complaints about, say, the interference of the House of Lords or the injustice of the electoral system assume almost invariably that the people's will or opinion, expressed by their representatives, is being frustrated. They assume, that is, that the democratic process involves the transmission of orders. Secondly, and more significantly, the theory is held in a vague and latent form by a high proportion of those who participate in, rather than reflect on, political matters. The best among us, no doubt, do both; but in Britain, as in any democratic country, the number of people who undertake some political activity is high—very high if we count voting as a minimum participation. Not many of those who appreciate that there may be difficulties in the understanding of democracy would accept this theory; but how many politicians, councillors, party members, trade unionists, publicists and so on are aware of these intellectual pitfalls? The belief is prevalent in the Labour Party, especially on the left. It contributes something to the spirit of 'Tory democracy,' and it is practically universal in the Liberal Party.

Thirdly, many of those political thinkers who are most keenly aware of the failings of this standard theory do not so much rebut it as criticise it for its grossly inadequate account of the total political process; they point out that the political aspect of society is too complex and subtle for the crude handling necessary to this theory. This is certainly the case; a proper understanding of the mechanism of its democracy is only a limited guide to British politics. However, the business of this paper is more radical. It argues not that the received theory of the democratic system is crude, inadequate and unsophisticated; but that, even on its own level, it is false. It is not enough to dislike the theory; it ought to be replaced.

I. *Consequences of the Accepted Theory.*

The consequences of believing in the standard theory can be brought out by considering some of its implications.

i. The first of these is that the democratic system has as a goal or object the carrying out of the 'will of the people.' There is, it is felt, a sort of transmission of orders from the many to the controlling few, and the arrangements of a democracy should be such that these general instructions are transmitted effectively.

ii. The second implication, moreover, is that this transmission is ideally something of an automatic mechanism—almost indeed a

sort of slot-machine by which the votes inserted at one end turn out laws at the other. The initiative which sets the political machine in motion, that is to say, is entirely with the electors and is exercised through the ballot-box.

iii. The third implication is that the representative assembly is of pre-eminent importance, because it is directly the creature of the voters. On the standard theory this institution seems particularly to embody the democratic system and to deserve a type of supremacy —sovereignty in the legal sense—by reason of its popular election.

iv. Finally, the standard theory can be taken to imply that the decisions of a government (or a parliamentary majority) that is properly elected are self-justifying, since they are prompted by the electors who should be served by those interests. This of course amounts to a thoroughgoing version of the doctrine of the mandate.

These four propositions do not all receive widespread support—ii and iv in particular would be greeted without enthusiasm in many quarters. Yet all are assumed to some degree, often as the basis for criticism of, or dissatisfaction with, present arrangements, and often unconsciously rather than explicitly. Their examination will be the task of the following paragraphs.

Transmission of the people's will.

The first matter is that of the people's will and its transmission *via* representatives. The concept itself of the people's will, or the will of the majority, is far from satisfactory, and has done much service in the defence of totalitarian democracy. Yet somehow the theory of liberal democracy has failed to dispense with it, and some such grounding is still sought as a moral or philosophic justification for governmental actions. Moreover, the electoral criteria used to decide the will of the majority have immense prestige, and are eagerly acknowledged by politicians.

But real difficulty arises when its content needs to be explored. 'Will' is a mischievous word, and the will of an individual is a psychological and philosophic problem of outstanding complexity. When it comes to the will of a majority—a vaguely-defined and transient group—the concept becomes an abstraction so difficult to comprehend and so void of precision that it is quite useless to the working politician, except on the platform. A majority does not write its own programme; it is inarticulate; it is anonymous; it is inaccessible to further consultation; it is at cross-purposes and is

bitterly divided on crucial issues; it is fickle and temperamental and, given a chance, will contradict itself without compunction. Perhaps the only dependable majority is the one in favour of more expenditure and lower taxation. The collective will of such an entity can have only one sure characteristic—obscurity. The substitution of a milder expression, such as 'attitudes' or 'opinions,' for 'will' does not help matters. These either carry much the same force as 'will' in the sense of a powerful and considered desire for something, or they merely mean snap judgments. In the first case they can no more be located and defined than the majority will, and in the second they have little moral standing and do not provide the authoritative force which majorities assume under the standard theory.

Yet it may be urged that something relevant can be derived from the results of a general election. It may fairly be argued from the voting, perhaps, that a majority has approved (or disapproved) a party programme. But what are these programmes, in relation to the business of government? They are usually collections of optimistic promises, with the facts not very well illuminated. They are always offered, and must be offered, as a whole, on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. The power of amendment is not open to the electorate. And so, even if it were conceded that a total programme might be approved at an election, this gives no guidance on the various items in that programme. The Labour Party had a majority for 'Let us face the future' in 1945, but did it have one for steel nationalisation? Whence the Conservative majority-approval for half denationalisation of road haulage? This, of course, is a natural and proper state of affairs, not one calling for any condemnation. It is not desirable or practicable even to offer programmes to the electorate item by item. Legislative proposals and other policies are interdependent, and not all are easily compatible one with another.

It can scarcely be doubted that many things are done, many wise and beneficial reforms carried, distinctly against majority approval. Majorities are often inarticulate, apathetic, and ignorant, and minorities vocal, enthusiastic and well-informed. Nor are enlightenment and benevolence to be measured by counting heads. It is doubtful if there has ever been majority support for the raising of the school-leaving age. Would a majority support Government patronage of the arts, or agree to finance the Third Programme? This situation has few practical consequences, of course, since Members of Parliament are representatives not delegates, and the

electorate does not devise its own programme of legislation. But it is decidedly at odds with the assumptions of the standard theory.

Finally, and perhaps most important, it should not be forgotten that other issues than programmes are prominent at elections. There are scares—Post Office savings or the wrong finger on the trigger—and there are personalities; and there are general questions like the Government's record or the nation's prosperity. Who can remember what the Conservative manifesto of 1955 was called, or what it contained? Moreover, though these matters may overshadow the programmes, they are of genuine importance and it is right and democratic that they should be in the forefront at elections.

All these considerations make any theory involving the will of the majority or a similar conception a poor foundation for democratic politics. Such a principle raises unnecessary problems about a collective will; it ignores the variety, perversity, ignorance, and contradictoriness of the majority; it assumes popular favour for enlightened policies in all fields; and it forgets that elections are won and lost quite irrespective of the programmes at stake.

Not only does the standard theory suggest a discernible popular will, but it also assumes that the purpose of the various democratic institutions is to pass on these desires or instructions. But there is no such transmission; the art of government does not consist in the implementation of a pre-arranged plan. Indeed, the pressure of external events, economic and political, may be so overwhelming that the domestic programme is all but submerged. The body politic is too lively for plastic surgery and there are no anaesthetics to induce slumber while the remoulders are at work. There is little point, this being so, in regarding the activities of representatives, of ministers or of administrators as merely the fulfilment, even in the most responsible and paternal way, of some set of requests sent up from below.

Automatic transmission and popular initiative.

The idea that this transmission not only exists but should be a sort of automatic mechanism, though derived from the standard theory, is a more extreme view not at all widely accepted. It is some times regarded, however, as the ideal to which in an imperfect world we should try to approximate. Advocates of proportional representation on grounds of 'electoral justice' often suggest that Government actions should reflect the opinions of the electorate as accurately as possible, and that matters can be improved in this respect by alterations in the

representative system.

The reasoning seems to be that freedom and self-government require that the laws and policies of a community should be those wanted by its people: hence the electorate at large should initiate the lines of action which its governing authorities fulfil. It seems natural therefore that the smoother this process can be made the more democratic it will be. Hence the 'slot-machine' ideal—the voters initiating a series of actions in an institutional machine, yielding a desired return.

There is little to correspond with this picture in the facts of political life. In particular, it is idle to pretend that as a matter of practical politics the initiative in governmental policies lies with the electorate. For this initiative, which is supposed to emerge at General Elections, is only expressed in the choice of a governing group of politicians—indeed, only in a preference for one group over another. These party groups have themselves formulated the reforms which the electors are regarded as demanding through the ballot box. These party programmes are drawn up with an eye on the electorate, of course; they attempt to offer the public what it wants, or what it can be persuaded to want. But they also arise from internal party ideas and conflicts, from interest groups, perhaps even from attachment to principle. There is nothing to show whether the majority which approved a particular programme at an election would not also have approved a different programme, or whether it cared much about programmes at all. Which items in the programme are popular and which not remains obscure, and a Cabinet, after winning an election, has to consider its own desires, its internal conflicts, the pressure of its supporters and the political situation at large, as well as the approved programme.

Though elections certainly set in motion periods of Government activity, it puts too great a strain on the commonsense of the matter to regard all that follows them as initiated by the voters. The chain of political causation is not broken at these times, and though voting may be a means whereby people get what they want, it is an erratic process, not a smoothly automatic one.

The pre-eminence of Parliament.

Perhaps the most widespread illusion fostered by the 'people's will' theory, however, is that the representative assembly (the House of Commons) is the paramount institution of democratic government.

Leonard Tivey

This supposition is supported, of course, by Dicey's view of the Sovereignty of Parliament as a basic principle of the law of the constitution; and there is also the political reality of the power of the Commons to defeat the Government—a reality not questioned here at all. The fallacy involved is different. It consists of a mislocation of policy decisions. In Britain there can scarcely be any doubt that all decisions of prime importance about major policies or new legislation are Cabinet decisions, and that those next in importance are ministerial decisions. Parliament discusses these decisions, criticises them, amends them and may, if outraged, reject them. But none of this amounts to making decisions or developing policies of its own: it does not decide what 'the executive' is to do. Government in Britain is carried on by the Ministry and the Civil Service, not by the House of Commons. Nor could it be otherwise.

Many people feel, however, that this is a usurpation of the rightful authority of the elected assembly. Back-benchers in the House of Commons, for instance, often believe that a proper share of policy-making is denied to them. Underlying these attitudes is the belief that the Member of Parliament is directly elected as the representative of the people, and that he and his fellows put the Government into office. But this is an illusion, and the reverse is really the case. The Government—the party leadership—is directly elected, for its doings, its policies, its successes and failures are the subject-matter of electoral controversy. A candidate is basically either a supporter or a critic of the Government of the day, and broadly speaking it is by his party label that he stands or falls. It is not the success of individual representatives in their various constituencies that enables them to then sustain a Government: it is rather the Government (or the 'alternative Government) that, by its popularity, carries its supporters into the House. It is the party leaders, in practice, who can appeal to the electorate, not the private member; and so the individual M.P. finds it more essential to be approved by his party leaders than *vice versa*. The House of Commons cannot genuinely claim, therefore, to be more 'democratic' than the Government.

Nor is its legal sovereignty reflected in practice, for nearly all its work as a legislature is done at the instigation of the Government. All Governments pay great attention to the feelings of the House and to the development of opinion among Members. Nevertheless, the committee on future legislation is a Cabinet committee, not a parliamentary one; and—though it must make modifications to

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mollify critics and hostile interests—a Government is normally in firm control of legislation at all stages. The rôle of Parliament is primarily one of scrutiny.[2]

Responsibility for Government action.

Finally, some democrats feel perplexed about criticism of elected Governments. If it is the function of a Government to do what the electorate wants, and this is apparently being done, then on what grounds can it be criticised? Does it not involve a paternalistic chiding of the majority to want something different? Sometimes it is said that responsibility for a particular act of policy rests ultimately, not with the Government, but with those 'who put them there'—with the majority who elected them.

To the democratic mind, this difficulty about the basis of criticism of duly-elected Governments appears as an incoherence, as an intellectual perplexity. To the totalitarian it offers an excuse for the suppression of opposition. If a Government elected by the masses— a people's Government—is proceeding with its plans, then to oppose it is to become an enemy of the people. No liberal democrat dreams of following this argument; but any close identification of a Government's actions with the will of those who voted them into office reflects this dangerous logic. The practical truth of the matter is that any Government in fact makes its own decisions; the electorate gives it the opportunity to do so. There are no final instructions as to what these decisions should be.

The objections made to the four implications of the standard theory set out earlier may now be summarised. In the first place, the assumption of the transmission of a popular will is unsatisfactory, because the content of the will cannot be defined, and in practice is often irrelevant, and because political conditions are not stable enough for a regular process of transmission to work itself out consistently. Secondly, 'automatic transmission' is not a useful model for an ideal system since the initiative for political change must lie more with politicians than electors. Thirdly, the democratic paramountcy of the House of Commons is an illusion if it means that policy decisions are made there. Fourthly, the connection between Government decisions and the votes of the electorate is so tenuous that no chain of moral responsibility can be traced back to the voters.

What is wrong, then, with the standard theory, with the model of

'representative democracy?' There is first the persistent belief that the transmission of orders, of 'will,' from the governed to those who govern, is part of the system. This has already been discussed. But there is also, as a root cause of the misapprehensions, a too habitual reliance on the traditional classification of governmental powers as legislative, executive and judicial. This division of government functions has given rise to the doctrine of *separation* of powers, but its relevance here is as a classification rather than as a principle of constitution-making. What is unfortunate is the general acceptance of it as the only fundamental classification, and the consequent neglect of the analysis necessary to discover other useful categories into which the functions of government may be divided. There has been not so much error as intellectual ossification. And in particular the division between 'legislative' and 'executive' functions—and hence between the legislature and the executive—has furthered the acceptance of the dogma of 'representative democracy.' For by treating the making of laws as a different matter from their 'execution' it encourages the view that the selection of the law-making body is the crux of the democratic process. There is hence an insistence that the representative assembly must be the 'legislature' or else all is fraud and delusion. Democrats feel, very rightly, that the elected assembly must not be reduced to impotence: but the traditional classification of powers provides a poor guide to what it can do and does do. This topic will be referred to again later, but for the present the examination of the shortcomings of the received view of representative democracy has gone far enough, and it is time to consider what a better theory in this field might contain.

II. *Elements of a better theory.*

An independent criterion.

One odd feature of the generally accepted theory of representative democracy is that it fails to explain at all clearly the difference (which *prima facie* should be obvious) between a democracy and a dictatorship. This is because totalitarian governments or tyrannies usually start by being based on popular support of some kind. They often originate, indeed, by being elected, fairly or unfairly. Even if they are revolutionary there may be little doubt that they have the active consent of the mass of people, to begin with at least.

A closer look at the situation, however, shows where the contrast

lies. Important decisions in a democracy, as in a dictatorship, are made by an individual or by a central committee; and in both cases the decision-makers are likely to owe their position to previous popularity. But to retain power, the dictator has merely to prevent revolution, whereas the democratic leader must avoid electoral defeat. His actions are subject to open comment and criticism, which culminate in an opportunity for free judgment of them by the electorate. The situation in which he makes his decisions is thus very different from that of the dictator, for he must always exercise his power (however great) in the presence of an independent criterion, electoral opinion. A dictatorship rules, broadly, according to its own ideas and standards; but in liberal democracy the government must practise the art of adjusting itself to an autonomous standard. Hence the climate of administration is pervaded by the consideration of electoral prospects.

The nature of 'electoral opinion' as a criterion by which government is judged is significant. There are of course other possible criteria for evaluating a Government's performance, such as its conformity to the will of God, the rights of Man, or other standards discovered by philosophers. But though elections may lack the transcendent importance of these other criteria, election results have at least one distinctive characteristic: they have a determinate existence and, under a two-party system, give a clear decision. The will of God and the rights of Man are in constant dispute, but there is rarely opportunity for doubting the electors' verdict. Given the familiar liberal conditions of a free press, secret ballot and so on, then an independent judgment of the government will be made. It need not be, of course, a fair judgment—there are no grounds for assuming the voters to be either wise or benevolent. But regular elections serve to remind a Government that it has someone else to satisfy besides itself, that sincerity and its own confidence in the rightness of its policies are not enough, and that others are evaluating—possibly unjustly—its achievements.

The next election.

The object of these electoral arrangements is to make the Government responsible. It has just been claimed that the existence of free elections as independent criteria of policy absolves the Government from judging its own actions. It has to operate continually in the knowledge that its actions may have to be justified to an outside authority. Thus it is invested with responsibility, with the necessity

of acting so that its behaviour can be publicly explained and defended, and not merely that it satisfies its own principles.

The electorate does not take actual decisions by remote control, but merely influences the conditions under which they are taken. The real and continuing power of the electorate lies, therefore, not in the fact of having elected the present Government, but in the prospect of electing the next. Political decisions are affected more by the approaching election than by the departing one. Though politicians can say anything in order to achieve power, they must *behave* in a popular way in order to retain it. It is true that the last election decided the political complexion of the Government, but it is mainly the reckoning of the next election which keeps the Government on the general line of its promised policies, and shapes the way they are interpreted. There is thus a contrast between what might be called the metaphysical authority of the electorate (the mandate, the will of the people) which is derived from the last election, and its real power, which consists in its threat of displeasure to be displayed at the next election.

This primary importance of the coming election makes the inability of the electorate, real or imagined, to understand technical problems of government of small account. They do not in fact make these technical decisions in advance; they only perceive their effects. This capacity to assess general issues, or rather to evince an attitude on broad political questions, is all that is necessary in British democratic machinery. It is also what is to be reasonably expected of so vast and various a body as a modern electorate. At a General Election the voters show how they are feeling politically; and the constitutional process then puts power to make decisions into the hands of men who will move in accordance with those political feelings, because they wish to retain power. The electorate does not have much power over particular Government policies. No group within it can deny the Government the way to an objective which is generally desired —provided the Government thinks sectionally unpopular means to be worthwhile, to achieve a popular (or a morally good) end.

This emphasis on the power of the electorate being expressed through an approaching election does not imply that politicians are unprincipled office-seekers prepared to do anything to retain power. Elections provide a sanction against a Government, but this does not mean that they are the only effective motive behind politicians. It is obvious enough that politicians are idealists, crusaders, careerists,

patriots, and so on: and most of them submit to democratic principles out of moral conviction. But nevertheless elections give a clear positive sanction instead of a chaos of conflicting moral judgments. Power corrupts democratic politicians the less because they are afraid of losing it. This emphasis on future elections also means that the real victory of democratic principles does not occur with a single triumph, an isolated free election, however fair, among untried political parties. It only comes when a regular system of periodic elections is firmly established, with well-known parties whose behaviour in office and out is a matter of common experience.

Policy-making.

In the discussion of the 'transmission of the people's will' it was pointed out that the opinion of the electorate—if it had one—on many technical issues of government was altogether irrelevant. There are many vital issues of policy on which a great deal of expert knowledge of one kind or another is required; and there are also many matters where the special interests of one part of the community need to be balanced against those of others. The determination of these questions is the task of the civil service and the Government.

This creates a difficulty for the standard accounts of representative democracy, for they regard it as the business of the Government to execute and the civil service to administer policies desired by the electorate and laid down by their representatives. In fact the general public plays a more limited rôle: it makes a choice, yes or no, on some issues, small as well as large, and it evinces, from time to time, a grass-roots demand for social change. The neglect of the policy-making functions of the Government and the ministries by the standard theory of representation is therefore serious—for, if that theory were taken literally, it might seem that the constitution was being subverted, and that policies were being decided in an undemo-cratic way. Here is a way in which an unsatisfactory theory may lead to shortcomings being attributed to practical arrangements, when a different theory might show them closer to the desired ideal.

This elaborate technique of policy-making is essential to the modern range of government functions. So far it has not been fully explored by political scientists. But it is not necessary to give any account of it at present so long as it is kept in mind. The democracy to be described, that is to say, is one where a large part

of Government policy is decided in the ministries, supplemented by much consultation and sectional representation, and is not settled at any stage of the electoral or parliamentary process.

III. *Outline of a new theory.*

There is now, if the arguments used in this paper so far are correct, sufficient basis for a revised conception of the democratic system to be put forward. There are two parts to this: a new classification of the powers of government besides the traditional one of Montesquieu; and a new theory of the machinery of democracy in Britain.

The reconstruction of the traditional classification of governmental functions—executive, legislative, and judicial—is indeed a large matter to raise at this stage of an essay concerned largely with other things, and no thorough treatment of the question can be attempted. But since the line of criticism just set forward does lead to certain suggestions it is as well to give an account of them. The traditional division of powers cannot be denied, of course, for it has moulded the institutions of many countries. Even if it was a mistaken classification when it was originated it is so no longer, for men's ideas and the constitutional laws they have established have grown for long under its influence.

But though this traditional division is not to be replaced, other classifications could be usefully applied for many purposes. One of these might be based on a central function in the exercise of political power—that of *decision*. One task of the political scientist is to diagnose realistically the seats of power in a community. At these points, wherever they are, a constant flow of decisions affecting the life of the nation will be required. Some of the most important decisions are about changes in the general rules of the country—legislation. But other decisions of equal importance in foreign affairs and economic matters are necessary. At any rate, the position where these questions are decided is of crucial importance in any society. It is not of course that they can ever be settled arbitrarily—that the decision-takers have anything like a free hand. On the contrary, they are always subject to very strong influences, and operate under severely limiting conditions.

Before these decisions can be reached, however, a great deal of forethought must now take place. Some preliminary processes must always have been necessary, but they have never been so conspicuous

before. This is partly due to the need for expert planning and consideration, by economists and other social or natural scientists, and for the consultation of the organised groups which concern themselves with various aspects of government activities. Government policies are not few, and all simply arrived at, on grounds of moral principle; they are multitudinous and many are only decided after much consultation, on grounds of convenience and for technical reasons. This may be distinguished as a distinct function of government—as *policy making*: the focussing and ordering of the processes whereby national policies are discussed and come to be settled.

The function of Parliament has been discussed. It is by far the most important body concerned with *scrutiny*. There are other means: the Press, and independent persons or institutions reviewing policy. But in the main it is Parliament, in Britain at present, that undertakes this power of government, and so enables it to be a basically democratic system.

The democratic gyroscope.

It remains to put together a new theory of the way the democratic system works, that may help to dispel some of the suppositions founded on the accepted theory.

What happens is that government is carried on and decisions are made by the Cabinet and lesser authorities, but this is done under certain conditions—primarily the scrutiny of Parliament, but also Press publicity and the attentions of interest groups. The prospect of having to face, in the fairly near future, an election which will amount to an autonomous judgment on its activities, makes the Government concern itself very much with these processes, for on them depends its continued existence. The electoral process serves therefore not to decide Government policy, but to make those who do decide it keep within close limits, not to exceed what the public will stand, and to appeal for their approval. What a Government cannot gainsay, therefore, are the firm desires and the rooted prejudices of the electorate; unless it keeps in line with these it is doomed. The democratic system does not involve transmission, but rather a gyroscopic principle. Nothing is passed from electorate to Government; but the general direction of Government policy is fixed, aberrations are soon checked, and an acceptable line is maintained.

In brief, the democratic condition that power should lie with the people is satisfied in the British system, not because any of the

questions which those who govern have to settle are referred to the people, but because their potential disapproval is a dominating factor in the environment in which the questions are settled. The mechanism is that the Government decides policies and promotes legislation as it thinks fit; if this is sufficiently popular it will secure electoral success and hence continuance; if it is outbid by the Opposition then policies will shift over to try to catch public feeling on another tack. It is because the Government *must attempt* to catch the wind of popular approval that it is democratic, not because it has secured an alleged endorsement of its actions beforehand. What makes the system work is the desire of political groups, especially parties, to obtain power or to continue in it, and the awareness that they can only do this—whatever their virtues—if they win the next election.

Here then is a final formulation of the thesis of this article. The democratic principle links Government policies with the wishes of the electorate. The standard theory of how this is done is that the people's will is transmitted through the choice of representatives who express it when assembled, and who control an executive which carries it out. Instead of this account, this article argues that policy initiative and decisions occur mainly at the governing end of the community, but that electoral arrangements operate to keep them on a general line (like a gyroscope) by the constant threat of popular disapproval.

London.

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[1] Professor S. E. Finer has described the situation in this way: 'The way our constitution really works is in fact very different from the way it is popularly supposed to work. The popular belief is, roughly, something like this. Each of the two major parties is supposed to put a programme before the electorate. The electors choose the programme they prefer, and the party returned by a majority of the electorate carries its own programme out. In this way the acts of the government are supposed to embody the majority view, or "the will of the people," ' *The Listener*, June 7, 1956.

[2] See Sir Ivor Jennings: *Cabinet Government*, Cambridge, 1936, page 18.

The Institutional Care of Children. Pp. vi + 70. New York: United Nations, 1956. 3s. 6d.

Youth at Work by M. E. M. Herford. Pp. xvi + 160. London: Max Parrish & Co. Ltd., 1957. 18s. 6d.

Psychological Services for Schools edited by W. D. Wall. Pp. 150. Hamburg: Unesco Institute for Education, 1956. 5s.

Through each of these three publications there runs the common theme of a positive approach to problems of mental health. The United Nations Committee in its examination of the conditions that children are living under in institutions, has collected data from countries of all continents. The Unesco Report on school psychological services draws its information from most countries in Europe. Both are expressing the views of a group of specialists in their respective fields. *Youth at Work* is the account of the experience of an 'appointed factory doctor' in this country.

The common note is the concern for the individual; for the child in the institution, the child in the school, the adolescent in the factory. They all stress the importance of knowing in as much detail as possible the circumstances of the child's life. The 'child coming into care,' the child referred to the school psychologist, the adolescent seen by the appointed factory doctor, all provide an opportunity to carry out full investigations; in particular to consider past and present circumstances in relation to future possibilities. It must however be noted that whereas specialist training is outlined for psychologists and houseparents in order to enable them to exercise a pertinent and objective study of each child as an individual, there is no indication given that the appointed factory doctor should have any particular training for this work. While being in complete agreement with Dr. Herford's views on the need for closer supervision of the health of young workers, the evidence that this can be adequately achieved through the means he suggests is less convincing. The ideal of the clinical approach is somewhat overshadowed by the weightier administrative measures which he recommends. Certainly in his pilot survey he shows that personally he was able to obtain a knowledge

of a wide number of adolescents, but one is left wondering whether this achievement was the result of his own personal qualities rather than his professional status. Certainly the doctor has a large contribution to make by helping young people to be 'not sickness-conscious but sanely health-conscious,' but what are in fact the specialist qualifications required in this work which is both so clearly medical and social?

In describing how knowledge in the field of child psychology is being used in the service of education Dr. Wall emphasises not the curative rôle of the child guidance service but the diagnostic and preventive work achieved through bringing together the educational psychologist, teacher and the parent in the service of the child and society. The report of the expert study group looks into the future in its outline of the ideal service, and these plans are based on sound knowledge as well as being linked to the schemes for the furthering of research in the necessary fields. While the fluidity of the present situation, depending as it does on the developing nature of the science of educational psychology, is inevitable, the report fills one with confidence that the last thirty years of struggling in the field of applied educational psychology have not been in vain. Similarly *The Institutional Care of Children*, while indicating certain basic standards which have been recognised in various countries as sound guides, describes and analyses problems for further research. A need for institutions is shown side by side with the aim of lessening that need through the provision of services for the preservation and strengthening of family life. Though different levels of cultural development naturally result in different types of treatment, this report in giving evidence of the concern in most countries today for the well being of children in institutions, shows how many problems there are in common. As would be expected, there is a greater disagreement on the psychological side of child care than on the physical, but the concern about, and formulation of, the problems involved in such spheres as discipline, education and recreation, give promise not only of solution of many of the difficulties but also a vision of a more constructive and positive mental health programme. One looks forward to further publications when national bodies have formulated their problems more precisely.

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Systematic Sociology by Karl Mannheim. Pp. xxx + 169. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1957. 24s.

Modern Sociological Theory in Continuity and Change edited by Howard Becker and Alvin Boskoff. Pp. xiii + 756. New York: The Dryden Press, 1957. $6.50.

Karl Mannheim, my distinguished predecessor as editor of the International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction, which he founded, left behind him a considerable quantity of unpublished material, and it was decided that it should be sifted and, where appropriate, published. This decision—which, I may say, I applaud —was taken before my appointment, and since I am in no way whatever responsible for these posthumous publications, I can give an unbiased opinion about this one.

In 1934-5 Mannheim delivered a course of lectures on 'Systematic Sociology,' and during the war he gave another on 'Social Structure.' The written material for these courses has been very skilfully woven into something approaching a coherent story. When one reflects on the difficulty of the task, one cannot help expressing admiration for the editorial work of Dr. Erös and Professor Stewart.

We start off in Part I with 'Man and his Psychic Equipment.' Fair enough; for men are the constituents of society. The psychology, as the editors point out, is a bit old-fashioned, but this is not important. We are given a sensible account of habit formation, the establishment of controls and ideals, and the problem of diverting 'psychic energy' into socially approved channels. We pass on to Part II on elementary social processes. The snag is that nothing we have learnt in Part I is relevant to Part II—at any rate its relevance is not brought out. However that may be, Part II is undoubtedly the most illuminating section of the work. It is in the style of the so-called 'formal' sociologists, whom we have been brought up, rather unfairly, to despise. But there are at least four questions all muddled up. The first is: granted that you have certain social relations: 'contact,' 'social distance,' 'competition,' what effect have these on the participants? The second is: under what conditions do you have examples of 'isolation,' 'competition,' 'co-operation'? The third is: what general effects on 'society' has a social relationship such as 'competition' as a selective agency? Contributions to all these problems are made, but the trouble is that the problems are not distinguished, as is illustrated by the intrusion into the list of topics

of 'individualisation' and 'socialisation,' which are psychological concepts, and bring us to the fourth question: under what conditions are such psychological phenomena facilitated or thwarted?

We pass on to Part III. The elementary social relationships such as 'contact,' 'distance' and so on are not enough for us, there are 'groups,' and Part III is devoted to groups: temporary, like crowds and audiences (miscalled 'publics'), and permanent, like villages, families, states and trade unions. Here Mannheim borrows almost verbatim from MacIver and Max Weber, and there is no harm in that—but where does Part II come in? Groups, especially global ones, must be kept in being, and yet we know they change, so Part IV is concerned with agencies: law, custom and so forth, which make for stability, and with changes in techniques, which give rise to general changes in social structure.

The observation, and analysis in Part II is certainly worth attention, particularly because the method is unfamiliar in this country. Each part of the book follows 'logically' on its predecessor. And yet we do not pass from one to another of these steps; we leap into another compartment. We are left with the question: is this the right way to set about a course of sociology, and if so can we fill in the gaps which separate the parts?

The difficulty we are in—the absence of anything approaching an agreed theoretical frame-work—is brought home to us in practically every contribution to the enormous compendium on sociological theory edited by Becker and Boskoff. Again I ought to confess to 'ego-involvement,' but only to the extent of an insignificant account of English sociology; I had no idea in what company I should appear. Having dutifully read the book from cover to cover—which no one else should think of doing—I am gratified.

The book falls into four parts, if one puts the introductory chapter (Part I) on the history of thought about society into Part II. This part is concerned with general theory, and the contributions overlap, so that there are no less than three *vignettes* of Durkheim, Pareto and Max Weber.

Part III is concerned with specialisms and is of necessity selective. There are articles on law, religion, art, the sociology of knowledge, on social stratification, on the *theoretical* problem of disorganisation, and on the fashionable study of small groups.

In Part IV we move towards the periphery: interdisciplinary

contacts, anthropology, social psychology, and psycho-analysis in their relation to sociology. In Part V we turn to the outside world: sociology in England, France, Germany, Italy and Japan.

The amount of erudition and the variety of opinion displayed are prodigious, and this does not make for easy or entertaining reading: if you are going to say something about a lot of people, you cannot say much about each.

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Professional Ethics and Civic Morals by Emile Durkheim, trans. Cornelia Brookfield. Pp. xliv + 228. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1957. 30s.

The Unservile State edited by George Watson. Pp. 324. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1957. 21s.

The Breakdown of Nations by Leopold Kohr. Pp. xii + 244. New York. Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1957. $4.00.

Professional Ethics and Civic Morals consists of a number of lectures given by Durkheim in the University of Bordeaux in 1898-1900 and at the Sorbonne in 1904 and 1912, collected, edited and published by Dr. Kubali in 1950 for the Faculty of Law in the University of Istanbul and now rendered in English by Cornelia Brookfield for the International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction.

The lectures are grouped under three main headings—Professional Ethics, Civic Morals, and The Right of Property. In the first three lectures Durkheim is mainly concerned with the duties which attach to membership of a certain calling or profession, and he shows that while professional duty requires a standard of conduct not expected of ordinary citizens, it also permits certain deviations from rules usually thought to be binding on all men, e.g. doctors may think it right to lie to a patient. He does not, however, conclude from this that professional conduct calls for the exercise of moral judgment not bound by ordinary rules of conduct. On the contrary, he argues that the various professions combine to enforce a measure of discipline which raises the whole tone of public morality. Beyond the professions, however, in trade and industry generally, groups are organised, he says, on the basis of interest, not duty; and he asks, 'What is to become of public morality if there is so little trace

of the principle of duty in this whole sphere that is so important in social life?' Believing as he does that moral behaviour springs from and is sustained by group relationships, and believing also that the classical economic theory according to which private interest promotes public good, is mischievous, he seeks a remedy for the 'sickness' of modern industrialized society in an organisation of trade and industry along the lines of the ancient Roman guilds. He prefers the Roman to the medieval craft guilds on the ground that the latter were based more on interest than on duty while the former, having a religious basis, could provide the moral discipline required of every social function.

No clue is given as to how a revived Roman *collegium* could be prevented from going the way of the medieval craft guild, and failing to detect any inconsistency between his 'secondary group' theory of morals, and his rejection of the medieval craft guild, he proceeds in the six lectures on Civic Morals to advocate a development of professional groups as a solution to the problem of the proper relation between State and individual in a proper democracy. Since these are to have both an economic and political no less than a moral and social function they can, at once act as a vehicle of and a brake upon the authority of the State over the individual, and at the same time provide social solidarity with graded devolution of power. As an alternative to State Socialism (or Communism) on the one hand and Syndicalism or Industrial Unionism on the other, there is much to be said for a proposal which if practicable would heal the breach between economics and politics, and would make of democracy something more than 'votes for all and every public authority elected by vote.' Just how the system proposed would provide for economic progress Durkheim does not consider, but contents himself in the remaining six lectures with an analysis of the Right of Property according to which that right has not a natural or even merely a legal but a religious basis; a religion, however, whose principal object of devotion is Society!

The Unservile State consists of a number of essays written by a group of Liberal thinkers each distinguished in one or other field of enquiry bearing on the general topic of Liberty and Welfare. The book claims, and with justice, to be the first full-scale study from the Liberal point of view of contemporary British politics since the famous 'Yellow Book' published under Lloyd George's inspiration

in 1928. But it is no mere party political manifesto. The various contributions consider such topics as—The Welfare State, Property and Equality, Relations in Industry, Monopoly, Agriculture, Education, Civil Liberties and the Reform of Parliament, with a detachment worthy of a scholar; and though the book as a whole is meant to have a propaganda value in inducing its readers to contemplate the changes required in British Society by the various recommendations for 'Welfare in the Liberal State,' the keynote of almost all the essays is not the explanation and defence of a party political programme but a careful analysis of the present structure of British political life with a view to canvassing the modifications required by Liberals in the present state of property distribution of industry, agriculture and social services generally. It is taken for granted by all the contributors that however unsatisfactory the present welfare state might be, there is no going back, as Durkheim might have wished, on a market economy or on welfare provisions; and therefore that the main problem today is how to provide for economic progress whilst enhancing the freedom, the well-being and the moral stature, not merely of British people but of individuals throughout the world. Since the proposals outlined would involve encouraging two seemingly disparate attitudes of mind—regard for one's own interest and care for the well-being of others, and since none of the contributors would rely on Adam Smith's 'divine hand' to effect the appropriate relation between private interest and public duty, more thought might have been given to Education and especially to Adult Education than is provided by the short and in many ways inadequate essay on Education.

Leopold Kohr's book offers a simple and single remedy not merely for recurrent warfare but for crime and all other forms of social misery, viz. a reduction in the size of prevailing political organisations. Original sin and natural aggressiveness though present in small no less than in large states and cities would, the author thinks, become much less potent and more manageable if the area of their effectiveness could be reduced by breaking down empires, confederations and multi-national states into their respective nationalities, and by distributing the population of overgrown cities like Chicago and London into small self-governed communities. Both history, physics, biology, psychology and economics are drawn on to support the thesis that 'there seems only one cause behind all forms of social misery: *bigness.*' But despite much learning and more ingenuity in develop-

ing this theme, the argument, which is by no means as silly as the theme might suggest, succeeds only by ignoring or minimising other factors no less potent for evil than mere size; and one cannot but feel that talents of no mean order such as the author displays might have been much better employed.

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Rural Local Government in Sweden, Italy and India by Harold Zink and others. Pp. xiii + 142. London: Stevens & Sons Ltd., 1957. 21s.

The Study of Comparative Government and Politics by Gunnar Heckscher. Pp. 172. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1957. 18s.

The appearance of these two books will be welcomed by those interested either directly or indirectly in research, teaching or study in political science. This is partly for their contents and partly also for the evidence they provide of changes in the attitude of political scientists towards their discipline. The study of politics in Universities has consisted far too long of listing facts about the constitutions and formal governmental institutions of the United States and the countries of Western Europe. Here is some indication both that the former narrow parochialism is being broken down and also that there are some scholars who are trying to understand the real processes of politics.

Both books are the result of projects initiated or aided by U.N.E.S.C.O. and undertaken by members of the International Political Science Association. In the first Professor Zink had as his collaborators scholars who were familiar with the institutions of rural local government in their own countries: Arne Wåhlstrand, Director of the School of Social Work and Municipal Administration of Gothenburg, Feliciano Benevuti, Professor of Administrative Law and Public Administration in the University of Padua, and R. Bhaskaran, Professor of Political Science in the University of Madras. Considering this the results are disappointing; but this may be a result of the original choice and planning of the research, for which they were not responsible. There is, for example, an account of the difficulty in deciding the units for study and comparison in the three

countries. It is easy enough in Sweden where there is a formal distinction made between rural, market-borough and city local government; but there is no such distinction in Italy; and in India there is no uniform system at all and what does exist is changing rapidly. Various aspects of rural local government are examined and compared in turn: history, legal status, machinery and activities, relations with other levels of government, finance, political parties and special interest groups. There are a number of facts here which are not readily available elsewhere; but it is difficult to fit them into their context. And the final conclusions hardly justify the effort that has been made. Rural local government, one learns, is not an obsolete or an obsolescent institution. And although corruption, political bosses and political machines do not play a major rôle in the three countries there are probably some types of 'honest graft' to be found.

The second of these books is of considerably greater interest. Professor Robson suggests in his Preface that it deserves to be a students' text book, and that it is indispensable as an introduction to the study of comparative government and politics. The author is Professor of Political Science in the University of Stockholm; he was *rapporteur-général* of an international conference of political scientists held in Florence in 1954 and which was attended by fifty scholars from fourteen countries. Professor Heckscher has used the papers which were presented at the conference as the basis of his book. This is much more than a formal report, however, he has quoted freely and has not hesitated to add his own comments. This is an attempt to explore the main problems of political science, and it is probably the first time that such an attempt has been made. 'Our task,' he writes, 'is to try to teach the truth regardless of its possible consequences on society or the state.' This is an implicit suggestion that so far none has attempted it.

In the first part of the book he considers a number of general methodological problems: what are the criteria of relevance and validity; what are the relations of political science to other social sciences; is a general theory possible? He goes on to discuss the bases on which comparisons may be made either between the institutions of different countries or in the same country. Part Two contains a number of examples of specific problems to which the methods of comparative government have been applied. These include 'area studies,' nationalised industries, parliamentary procedure,

the democratic control of foreign policy, electoral systems and elections, political parties and revolutionary movements. It is no criticism of Professor Heckscher to state that he raises many problems and solves none; he is encouraging his readers to see problems in political science where none was recognised previously. One must hope that others will take up the discussion where he has left it.

University of Leeds.   F. K. GIRLING.

Studies in Economic Development by Alfred Bonné. Pp. x + 294. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1957. 32s.

Population Theories and the Economic Interpretation by Sydney H. Coontz. Pp. viii + 200. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1957. 25s.

Labor in a Growing Economy by Melvin W. Reder. Pp. xii + 534. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., (London: Chapman & Hall Ltd.) 1957. 52s.

The three volumes under review are concerned in varying degrees with the problem of economic growth. Professor Bonné states forcefully the view that the economic development of under-developed areas does not come about automatically (with or without political independence), but needs to be 'implanted' by the government of the area with outside assistance. The government alone can supply the necessary 'entrepreneurship,' inaugurate schemes of family limitation, and mobilize that part of the necessary funds for investment which comes from local sources (though a large proportion of such funds must often come from abroad). Professor Bonné is optimistic about the overcoming of 'institutional resistance to change'—perhaps such resistance is comparatively weak in Israel, where he lives—and believes that the forces of nationalism may be harnessed to this end. There is little that is new in his not always well-arranged economic and statistical analysis, but one sympathises with his enthusiasm and his plea to international institutions to be bold in their allocation of funds.

Professor Coontz complains that current theories of economic growth tend to treat population as an independent variable. In his attempt to rectify this, he discusses a variety of theories of population growth, attacking the 'biological' theorists (including, properly, those who claim to have found a 'statistical law' of population growth)

and the 'cultural' theorists (less convincingly). In support of his own view that population growth is determined by the demand for labour he gives a somewhat incautious interpretation of Marshall (pp. 92-97), quotes with approval a most unconvincing argument of Marx (Ch. V), and gives a remarkably misleading account of the significance for economic thought of the contributions of Keynes and the imperfect competition theorists (pp. 97-101).

His explanation of the different fertility rates of rich and poor—that large families have tended to be more of an economic asset to the latter—seems a sensible partial answer. But to say that the demand for labour as a whole determines its supply (meaning presumably the amount supplied) is strict economic nonsense. A change in the demand for labour or in its rate of growth will have on the amount supplied an effect which will depend on a host of political, social, cultural, technological, and biological factors which cannot be neglected even at a first approximation.

Professor Reder's book is an undergraduate text in labour economics. The recent concern of economists with economic growth is reflected in the space devoted to the history of the labour movement in the U.S.A., and to a discussion of the determinants of labour's share in the national income over time and of the rôle of unions in influencing that share. On the latter question he believes that unions can have little influence except when market forces are favourable to labour, and stresses the difficulty of formulating testable hypotheses in this field. Professor Reder has been remarkably successful in analysing the process of wage-determination with a minimum of theoretical apparatus. The range of the book is so comprehensive, however, that one doubts the capacity of the average undergraduate, in the limited time at his disposal, to absorb and reflect upon more than a small part of it.

University College of   H. A. J. GREEN.
North Staffordshire.

Rôle Relations in the Mental Health Professions by A. Zander, A. R. Cohen & E. Stotland. Pp. vii + 211. Amsterdam: The North-Holland Publishing Co., 1957.

Trends in Social Work 1874-1956 by F. J. Bruno with chapters by Louis Towley. Pp. xviii + 462. Columbia University Press (London: Oxford University Press), 1957. 45s.

California Social Welfare by Vaughn Davis Bornet. Pp. xxiii + 520. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956. $5.0.

Team-work in the social sciences between practitioners of different disciplines is now commonplace. It is recognised, however, that varied training, and personal and professional attitudes, may produce tensions and frictions among team-members. The work by Zander, Cohen and Stotland concerns relations between psychiatrists, psychologists and psychiatric social workers in the clinic. It is one of a series of such studies by the Ann Arbor Research Centre for Group Dynamics. The purpose of this, as of preceding studies in the series, is to help give clinical workers an objective picture of their work-situation, while providing the social scientist with another example of the Centre's methodology in the field of rôle-relations. Concepts of rôle expectations, personal security and group aspiration are examined with reference to the therapeutic functions of the clinical team.

Each professional group was examined about its attitudes to co-workers. For example, psychologists, it is claimed, are more eager to be liked and respected by social workers than are social workers by psychologists! This and numerous other statements concerning professional relationships in the clinic are then examined in their bearing on group efficiency. The findings in this particular study are then related to earlier studies and the general 'rôle-theory' of the research unit.

The central theme of *Trends in Social Work* 1874-1956, is the place of the Council of Social Work in the evolution of American thought and practice on social matters. The National Conference itself developed in the 1870's from the American Social Science Association, which was modelled on the British National Association for the promotion of Social Science.

The sketch of the early development of American Social work introduces us to American pioneers whose names are little known in

this country. It helps us to understand the sharp division between academic sociology and practical social welfare matters which still has some reality in relevant American institutions. The account of the attitudes and activities of social workers with the coming of Roosevelt's New Deal is particularly interesting. The supplementary chapters by Professor Towley are invaluable in their analysis of changing trends in the last decade, and in the changing social philosophy that they reflect.

To a British reader, however, something is lacking. Not much is said of the deep mark left on American social work by psycho-analytic concepts. Possibly this reflects the Conference's concern with social welfare in general to the neglect of social casework as such.

Dr. Bornet's volume gives detailed comparisons of government and private welfare; it gives a particularly useful analysis of how funds are raised in both these fields. The author continually relates the social welfare situation in California to that of the United States as a whole. At the same time he is constantly mindful of the variation in welfare matters among the 58 counties of California. Four counties have been chosen for special analysis, as representing various aspects of Californian economic life.

The author notes in the last five years 'A shift to social insurance,' particularly for the benefit of the aged. On the national scale the last few years have seen a much larger share of the welfare budget allocated to insurance. As a consequence 'the federal government assumed more of the load; state and local governments assumed less.'

This, and other trends, are examined in their application both at the California State level and in their repercussions throughout the 58 counties. The description of the co-operation between these agencies for the assistance of children, adolescents, the needy, the sick and the old is possibly the most readable and rewarding section of the book.

The Social Science Tutorial College,   E. T. ASHTON.
London.

Humanistic Psychology by John Cohen. Pp. 206. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1958. 18s.

Introductory Psychology by D. R. Price-Williams. Pp. viii + 203. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1958. 18s.

Professor Cohen's book has the effect of irritating and stimulating us to reflect upon the foundations of psychology and this is no common merit.

Psychological enquiries surely for all the recent and powerful refinements of scientific method remain more like those of philosophy and common sense than psychologists like to think or would wish.

Professor Cohen disarmingly asks us to read his own book (as, indeed, any psychology) with a sufficient number of grains of salt. He suggests in his case one for each chapter, surely estimating his manifold talents too evenly. It is unlikely that any one could contribute at the same level to such an exciting variety of topics as is covered by the papers in this book. His discussion of 'the shaping of the young mind,' of 'the senses as social organs,' of 'psychological time' and 'contact of minds' are full of suggestive and informed discussion. This reviewer, however, was irritated almost beyond profit by the first chapter on 'The Difficulty of Making the First Step,' and did, indeed, for a moment suspect that irritation was the purpose of the exercise. The methodological problem raised by physiological types of explanation in psychology really deserves a better fate than to be thrown in with analogies of 'mental chemistry,' 'epidemiology,' 'economics' and 'geology' and settled by the statement that 'blushing cannot be caused by any action in the body.' It is equally true to say that blushing *must* be caused by an action in the body. The problem is to choose the analysis appropriate to the individual problem.

If from Professor Cohen's comments on the state of psychology we might assume that it would be sufficient to describe the birth of our science as merely 'a very confused situation,' the danger of Mr. Price-Williams' book (aimed at students requiring a little practical psychology) is that there is too little sense of travail. The risk, disappointment and uncertainty of scientific discovery must be more stressed in an introductory psychology, and this book presents too many gobbets of fact, too many condensed and compiled summaries without the necessary dialectic of discussion and cautionary example. Like the philosophers of our time we must

surely seek less to emphasise a corpus of knowledge than to suggest the method of discovery and verification. This involves for social workers an astringent prophylactic course in the canons of scientific observation and experiment and on the continuing efforts of psychology to adopt the most rigorous procedures possible in respect of its diverse problems. Mr. Price-Williams has skimped this most essential task of scientific initiation, without which students are really unfit to read any of the experimental references he gives. This becomes not only urgent but imperative when the exposition, as is right and proper for a text-book, shows an urbane and impressive eclecticism. The incorporation of case-work material also makes it incumbent upon the psychologist as scientist to point out the dangerous hiatus between the instance and the generalisation—the instance in this context may be an illustrative case or a field study, substantial in scope, but as yet unrepeated.

Professor Cohen suggests that one purpose his book may serve is as an 'advanced text for beginners.' It would be certain to provoke discussion by students and even an active response by the tutor.

University of Hull. GEORGE WESTBY.

Motivation Research by Harry Henry. Pp. 240. London: Crosby Lockwood & Son, Ltd., 1958. 30s.

The Employers' Challenge by H. A. Clegg and R. Adams. Pp. viii + 179. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957. 21s.

Do you want to know what 'motivation research' is? Mr. Henry will tell you simply and entertainingly; and doubtless he will do the job authoritatively, for he is Director in charge of Research for McCann-Erickson, one of the big agencies. Do you want to have your vague fears about it dispelled? Mr. Henry will probably not help you much in this. He does not ignore the existence of doubts about the ethics of some of it, but he brushes them aside, unconvincingly, with a too-hearty horse-laugh. Also, he is inclined to dismiss opinions contrary to his own with more wit than thoroughness. It is clear that Mr. Henry could do better than this. Perhaps, having got his popular introduction off his chest, and established a market for himself, he will now face the task of expounding his subject to those of us who feel in our bones—perhaps unwarrantably—that it may prove to be yet another technique for making us the slaves of cynical money-grubbers.

It must be rare indeed for a work of scholarship to be produced at the speed with which Mr. Clegg and Mr. Adams, both of Nuffield College, have performed the task reported here. They have written up the shipbuilding and engineering dispute of 1957 and provided a highly interesting interpretation of it. Their contention—hinted at in the title of the book—is that the employers caused the dispute by trying to change a system of industrial relations established in 1940. The thesis is well documented, and it is presented with outstanding clarity.

Birkbeck College,   ALEC RODGER.
University of London.

Psychoanalysis and Psychotherapy by Franz Alexander. Pp. xiv + 299. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1957. 25s.

The Dynamics of Anxiety and Hysteria by H. J. Eysenck. Pp. xiv + 311. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1957. 32s.

Psychoanalysis and Psychotherapy is dedicated to Sigmund Freud on the hundredth anniversary of his birth (1856) and presents in a readable way the reflections of a practitioner both on the developments in the technique and the philosophical justification of psychoanalysis. Several authors, including Sartre and Ortega y Gasset, have drawn attention to the relative aimlessness of life in twentieth century society, despite the evidence of technical progress. Alexander suggests that whereas the challenge of the environment and activity in the natural sciences lent a sense of purpose to the nineteenth century, the important challenge in the twentieth century lies in the social sciences among which psychoanalysis, in the best traditions of western humanism, emphasizes the respect for individual differences and the dignity of the individual. Many practical issues which appear important to a non-analyst are frankly discussed. These include the analyst's personal reaction to the patient, the degree of manipulation of the patient's environment, intellectual guidance, the degree of support for the patient's defences, the criteria for the termination of an analysis, the personality of the analyst and methods of training. A survey of the opinions (fifteen are stated fully) of twenty well-known professors of psychiatry in the United States indicated fairly general agreement that some instruction in the principles of psychoanalysis and psychotherapy should be included in the training of residents in psychiatry. Appraisal does not extend to the literature

on the experimental testing of psychoanalytic hypotheses; but the practitioner's assessment of what he is trying to do makes interesting reading.

Professor Eysenck is well known for his extensive studies by statistical methods of the results of tests and ratings of personality and opinion which have indicated groupings of the data along particular dimensions such as psychoticism, neuroticism, radicalism-conservatism, extraversion-introversion. The present work is an attempt to relate these dimensions to the extensive experimental literature in the fields of conditioning, learning, perception, and the influence of drugs on behaviour, where the existence of individual differences suggests the possibility of typologies. Excitatory potentials are generated quickly and strongly and inhibitory potentials slowly and weakly in introverts. They form conditioned reflexes more quickly than the extraverts. So too, dysthymics (abnormal introversion) condition more readily than hysteric subjects (abnormal extraversion), with normal subjects in an intermediate position. Again there is some evidence that spatial inhibition effects in the perceptual field are stronger among extraverts and hysterics than among introverts and dysthymics. For dark adaptation, hysterics reveal higher thresholds than dysthymics. There are many points where further empirical evidence would be desirable; but the possibilities of linking the several fields of literature have been indicated. Consistent with the emphasis upon objective procedures, therapies involving the exhaustion of tic responses and the inhibition of anxiety responses by the development of incompatible responses are reviewed and the statistical evidence for this whole approach deriving from Pavlov and Hull is more favourable than for psychotherapy. It is not impossible that patients could be relieved of anxiety symptoms by both methods. Clearly there is an obligation for protagonists of either approach to provide the required evidence based upon the most careful assessment and follow-up of cases.

University of Durham. F. V. SMITH.

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The Problem of 'The Problem Family' by F. A. Philp and N. Timms. Pp. x + 77. London: Family Service Units, 1957. 7s. 6d.

Divorce in England by O. R. McGregor. Pp. xi + 220. London: Wm. Heinemann Ltd., 1957. 18s.

These two publications, though widely different in content, have in common a passionate plea for more research and less loose thinking, and should therefore be of immediate interest and pertinence to sociologists.

The Problem of 'The Problem Family' is a short statement of the thinking and action that have so far appeared in this country and a few others about the 'disorganised' family. The pamphlet surveys our awareness over the last century of the existence of such families, and seeks to pinpoint the problem more clearly by comparing the modern attempts to define it. It indicates what the authors call 'the administrative' and 'the casework' approaches to a solution, and gives some useful warnings about the dangers of loose thinking in the latter. It ends with a good summary of the special agencies devised to deal with problem families—from the Family Service Units in Britain, to the Zuidplein Village in Rotterdam. The study advocates no new approach, and makes no comment on the relative merits of the experiments so far tried. To the practical worker, therefore, it must be something of a disappointment. But as a well-documented short account of the position in 1956, it is a useful spring-board for new thinking on the subject.

Divorce in England is written with more passion, but with no less concern for the facts of which public opinion is all too little aware. In some measure this book is an attempt to fill the gaps in our knowledge from the lamentably small amount of collected information that surrounds such an important subject. Thus Mr. McGregor begins with a survey of the law relating to divorce before and after 1857 (usually, and erroneously, regarded as the date when civil divorce was first tolerated in this country) and of the Victorian middle-class family, culled from the literature of the time, backed by a certain amount of statistical evidence from demographic studies. His assembly of existing statistics is perhaps the most valuable part of the book to the social scientist, as it summarizes in convenient form the known facts about the number of divorces and separation orders, the number of children involved, the duration of the marriage, and other relevant matters necessary to the study of this delicate question. It might

have been helpful if some comparison with experience abroad could have been included, though the omission is understandable when one remembers the notorious dangers of comparative statistics.

The latter part of the book is concerned with an analysis of the Christian view of marriage, and the Royal Commission on Marriage and Divorce 1956, which, while entertainingly written, is more polemical than the earlier chapters. The book does not claim to be unbiased, and the reader will react to the later chapters according to his own approach. Thus to some they will be sheer delight and stimulation, but to others wormwood and gall.

University of Southampton.   FREDA YOUNG.

The University Teaching of Social Sciences: *Demography* edited by D. V. Glass. Pp. 200. Paris: U.N.E.S.C.O., 1957. 10s.

Leçons de Démographie by Daniel Villey. Pp. 417. Paris: Editions Montchrestien, 1957.

These books are admirable foils to each other. *The University Teaching of Demography*, edited by D. V. Glass and prepared in co-operation with U.N.E.S.C.O., is a plea for the study of the subject, a survey of the propagation of its gospel and an assessment of its status. *Leçons de Démographie*, by Daniel Villey of the University of Paris, is a roneotyped set of university lectures which gives a lively impression of the teaching of demography in one continental school. The two books, published simultaneously, do not pass comment on each other.

The Teaching of Demography brings together a mass of valuable information about the university status of the subject in 29 countries. The reports, which vary in length, include entire syllabuses for certain countries as well as bibliographies recommended to students. They are preceded by a most explicit introduction by Dr. Frank Lorimer which deals with the nature of demography and its implication for programmes of instruction. Demography is set in the context of other disciplines and Dr. Lorimer views sympathetically the need for interdisciplinary projects. This introduction might well serve for a standard statement on demography and provide the basis for encyclopaedias wishing to make good their omission of this subject. Even the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* only devotes 12 lines to it.

Leçons de Démographie is a most readable outline of one man's

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impression of the subject. Daniel Villey describes it as an 'impulsive, semi-confidential, familiar, provoking, unconstrained' book. It is all that and more. Sometimes one is disturbed by its excessive volubility: sometimes, one envies the admirable flexibility of French prose as an instrument for explaining the subject: sometimes, one wonders whether the obvious always sounds more profound in another language. Professor Villey contrives to bring statistical formulae, primary graphical material, the Bible, M. André Gide, Gina Lollobrigida and a good deal else into a series of lectures which extol the maxims and mysteries of demography. The study of demography has advanced considerably since 'Parson Malthus's' day. In contrast to the approach of Dr. Lorimer, there is a tendency for M. Villey to disapprove of human geography (p. 348 *et seq.*). It does not help demography to establish itself by challenging the authority of geography. Viewing the content of these *Leçons*, one might well comment *Qui accuse, s'accuse*! It is of the nature of much learning in the field of the social sciences that it displays elements of what Jean Cocteau has called *touchàtouisme*. This quality is, indeed, among those which makes M. Villey's lectures so diverting and stimulating.

University College,   W. R. MEAD.
London.

Communities and Their Development by T. R. Batten. Pp. viii + 248. London: Oxford University Press, 1957. 15s.

Man and Culture: An Evaluation of the Work of Malinowski edited by Raymond Firth. Pp. viii + 292. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1957. 32s.

An Introduction to Social Anthropology by Ralph Piddington. Volume 2. Pp. xvi + 443-819. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1957. 30s.

Community or social development schemes have become increasingly important since the War in the so-called 'underdeveloped countries,' both to the end of local betterment in communications, health, education, etc. and to foster community feeling and enterprise where apathy, ignorance and poverty exist. Mr. Batten's new volume is a text-book for those who are training as specialised workers in the stimulation and supervision of this kind of work. But, no less

importantly, this is a really valuable text-book for all people who are living and working in those countries (chiefly tropical) and are responsible for the assistance and guidance of the people— administrators, technical and field officers, welfare workers, missionaries. This book is probably the best of its kind yet published.

Some indication of the influence of Malinowski in the establishment of modern social anthropology is immediately obvious from the array of senior members of the discipline who have contributed to *Man and Culture*. All were his students and all acknowledge their debt to him. The contributions are by no means all panegyric; all are intellectually critical and some are derogatory. Almost all the writers pay marked tribute to Malinowski's great value as field worker, ethnographer and teacher, and they affirm his invaluable and sometimes pioneer stimulus in the development of the modern body of theory. Yet these thirteen essays inevitably deal with the work and writings not only of Malinowski but also of his predecessors, contemporaries and successors, for of course Malinowski was not alone in his field, giant though he was. If, as one of the essayists puts it, 'the abstract theoretical writings of Malinowski are not merely dated, they are dead.' (E. R. Leach, p. 120), it is perhaps pertinent to wonder if such an assemblage of anthropological notabilities might not have produced an even more profitable volume had their frame of reference been extended to the whole of the last half century's social anthropology, of which Malinowski was so indubitably a premier exponent.

Piddington concludes his *An Introduction to Social Anthropology* with a second volume. Taken as a primer for first year students or interested laymen it is generally excellent. Volume 2 includes sections on environment, ecology, demography, material culture, the theory of culture and personality, and culture contact. There are two long chapters on field work, including even the publication of material, which appear rather oddly in such a student's handbook.

Arusha, Tanganyika.   P. H. GULLIVER.

Reviews

The Family Life of Old People by Peter Townsend. Pp. xvi + 284. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1957. 30s.

People in Need by Cyril S. Smith. Pp. 155. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1957. 21s.

Almost any gerontological investigation of recent years might have been subtitled 'a study of people in need.' Three of the needs explored by Mr. Smith, viz. inadequate incomes, care during illness and lack of social life, are precisely those requirements often said to be largely unsatisfied among old people. Much common ground is explored by the two enquiries and some important conclusions are shared.

The suggestion that extended welfare services have led to the displacement of the family as the prime source of mutual aid to its members, is convincingly refuted by these two studies. But attention is drawn to the dangers arising from policies which tend to disrupt family relationships. Industrial mobility or rehousing programmes in breaking up the physical clustering of families, may interfere seriously with reciprocal family aid, and create a demand for expensive welfare services hitherto unwanted. These warnings are timely.

Neither of these studies claims to be nationally representative. This is a serious limitation to Mr. Smith's investigation. Mr. Townsend, on the other hand, has shown how to get the maximum advantage out of the case study approach to a comparatively small number of persons. Only the kind of close contact which he made among old people and their families could have yielded such a revealing analysis of the complicated network of family relationships which sustains older people.

When Mr. Townsend turns to recommendations for future policy there is inevitably much to question. This is especially true of his conclusions about retirement and employment policies.

Making work is always a destitute social policy and it seems a limited objective to provide paid employment to the end of physical capacity for the negative reason that old men do not know how to use their time in any other way.

London. BARBARA SHENFIELD.

Social Aspects of Prescribing by J. P. Martin. Pp. xii + 180. London: Wm. Heinemann Ltd., 1957. 21s.

Voluntary Societies and Social Policy by Madeline Rooff. Pp. xiv + 320. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1957. 35s.

The purpose of Mr. Martin's study is to determine some of the factors which influence the practice of medical prescribing under the National Health Service, and he augments the significance of his findings by relating them to issues of administrative policy. One of the most interesting and useful parts of his work is a review of administrative techniques for the control of prescribing since 1912. Clearly portrayed is the complexity of administering a service which is, to varying degrees, affected by the practices of the medical profession, the interests of commercial pharmaceutical firms, the attitudes of consumers, and the availability of health and welfare facilities generally.

After defining the breadth of the problem of medical prescribing, Mr. Martin both narrows and deepens the field of investigation by statistically testing the relationship of a variety of environmental factors to local patterns of prescribing. Of these, he finds most significant social class, the 'medical folkways' of the public, and level of health. The student of research is provided with much valuable material in Mr. Martin's description of his methodology although the general reader may have some difficulty in following his analysis. Aside from technical problems, however, this study explores many issues basic to social policy evaluation.

Miss Rooff's book is primarily concerned with the relationship of the structure and function of voluntary bodies to the changing pattern of the statutory social services. Although her major emphasis is on the voluntary-statutory partnership, other influences on the direction of social policy are considered as well. The relationship of voluntary and statutory action is traced through a detailed historical examination of aspects of three services, mental health, maternity and child welfare, and blind welfare. While Miss Rooff's approach provides a background for understanding the contemporary pattern of voluntary-statutory co-operation, it does not result in a critical analysis of how or to what extent co-operation is actually achieved. At times the evidence presented does not appear sufficient to support some of the conclusions suggested. In so complex a field as voluntary-

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statutory relationships the student must be especially cautious in distinguishing between goals desired and results attained.

New York University.   SAMUEL MENCHER.

The Church's Understanding of Itself by R. H. T. Thompson. Pp. 110. London: S.C.M. Press Ltd., 1957. 8s. 6d.

Churches, especially those connected with the Ecumenical movement, are increasingly aware that the techniques of social enquiry developed by sociologists may be of value in diagnosing some of the factors responsible for the present lack of active support for Church activities in Britain and elsewhere. This book is an account of a small investigation carried out in four Birmingham parishes among regular worshippers in the Church of England. It has all the limitations of surveys carried out by means of interview schedules and the numbers involved are too small to justify sweeping generalizations. This does not stop the author from presenting findings about 'the Church' as if the four Anglican parishes reliably represented a much wider circle. Nevertheless, he is able to draw a number of conclusions which are probably applicable to other similar urban areas. Collectively they suggest that the Church's *lack* of understanding of itself would have been a more appropriate title for the book. The evidence provided is likely to be all the more shocking to those concerned with these matters in view of the fact that it is derived from a study of the regular supporters of the established church and not from a random sample of the population.

It was not incumbent upon the author to suggest remedies for what he found. Some ideas on this subject might emerge from sociological studies—not necessarily conducted by means of interview schedules—of the experimental worship groups that are growing up in some factories and urban neighbourhoods. It is to be hoped that other University Departments will follow the example of Birmingham's Faculty of Commerce in providing the necessary financial support for such investigations and that the groups themselves will be willing to become the subject matter for research.

University of Edinburgh.   ANTHONY H. RICHMOND.

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Disaster: *A Psychological Essay* by Martha Wolfenstein. Pp. xvi +
231. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1957. 23s.

This book analyses voluminous interview material collected by
the Committee on Disaster Studies of the National Research Council,
and dealing mainly with reactions to large-scale disasters in the
United States. Very little space is devoted to war-time disasters, or
even to peace-time events in other countries.

The material on which this book is based is thus far from complete,
and yet it is an excellent book, full of human interest, insight and
common sense.

The book consists of three parts, the first analysing the threat of
disaster, the second the impact, and the third the remote conse-
quences of the disaster for the survivors. In each stage the unconscious
mechanisms of repression, denial, guilt and projection are operating,
and various means of managing anxiety may be effective or damaging,
depending on the stage in the disaster cycle.

Thus a healthy individual will usually not worry about dangers
which are remote in time or space. He will start worrying about them
and take protective measures when they come near to him. When
the disaster hits him, he will believe in his own immunity and inspire
the confidence of others. Afterwards he will be able to revive painful
memories and will integrate his experience to be better prepared for
any recurrence of it. His behaviour will not be entirely rational—
but it will help him and others in both the physical and the psycho-
logical survival.

A neurotic will use the same defence mechanisms and will be,
perhaps, no less rational than the healthy individual, but his timing
will be wrong. He will start worrying about remote dangers too early;
when they come nearer, he will be unable to face them, and so will
deny them altogether. At the moment of impact he will be entirely
unprepared and overcome with terror. After the disaster he will be
unable to assimilate the painful experiences and will repress them;
and so they will remain in his unconscious, producing tension and
causing further difficulties.

The analysis of these patterns of reaction in various groups of
subjects and in various stages of the disaster cycle is done with un-
usual thoroughness and insight. A few of the author's remarks about
the rôle of unconscious guilt and hostility, and about the importance

of sado-masochistic fantasies may be regarded by some readers as far-fetched. But they are well documented, and they show an outstanding degree of clinical sensitivity.

Banstead Hospital,　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　T. GRYGIER.
Surrey.

The Year Book of Education 1957: *Education and Philosophy* edited by G. Z. F. Bereday and J. A. Lauwerys. Pp. xiii + 578. London: Evans Brothers Ltd., 1957. 63s.

For some years it has been the practice of the editors to make this Year Book a symposium on an important educational theme. The latest edition deals with philosophy and education. Nearly six hundred pages proves far too long for the very limited connexions between these two fields. The topic has therefore been treated very widely to include the links between educational practice and the ideals, concepts and 'theories' which direct and influence it. The result is a useful reference book for those interested in educational history and institutions. But it is less rewarding on the relevance of philosophy in the technical sense of the word.

A short notice can give no impression of the detail of the book but its general scheme gives some idea of its considerable scope. Over forty writers have contributed and the chapters are divided into six main sections: The Great Traditions, Determinants of Policy, National Systems, Historical Examples, Experimental Institutions and The Teaching of the Philosophy of Education. All the chapters are written by specialists and the editors have canvassed a very wide variety of educational opinion, not neglecting the lunatic fringe which is so much wider in educational thinking than in most other intellectual fields. It is difficult to complain that the book is unrepresentative. Even the fantasies of Rudolf Steiner are solemnly accorded a chapter. The Roman Catholics get two. Only the Marxists are omitted. This is absurd but is perhaps due to the dilatoriness of a contributor rather than to an editor's American prejudice.

The strictly philosophical chapters show a welcome evidence of a new interest in philosophy among specialists in educational thought. The best of these chapters is a *tour de force* of conciseness and clarity by a philosopher, Mr. W. H. Walsh.

University of Exeter.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　D. J. O'CONNOR.

Soviet Education edited by George L. Kline. Pp. xi + 192. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1957. 21s.

The title of this volume may mislead some into believing that it attempts to describe the system of Soviet Education as it is. In fact it consists of nine somewhat specialised and subjective studies of aspects of the system in the pre-war era written from the personal experiences of former Soviet citizens now in exile. 'They may be compared' says George S. Counts in his introduction 'with the accounts of life in Soviet prisons and forced labour camps written by former inmates after escaping to the West.' The specialist may find something of interest in e.g. the descriptions of Teachers' Training in Kirgizia prior to 1932, or the 'Faculties of Special Purpose' in Odessa between 1931-7. Such chapters as 'The Campaign against Illiteracy in the Ukraine 1922-41,' and 'The Training of Soviet Engineers' (in the pre-war era) illustrate more generally some of the problems of a rapidly expanding educational system. There are some interesting anecdotes. But the Research Program on the U.S.S.R. (East European Fund, Inc.) who sponsored it, ought to do better than this.

Ruskin College,   H. D. HUGHES.
Oxford.

Village on the Border by Ronald Frankenberg. Pp. xi + 163. London: Cohen & West, 1957. 18s.

Dr. Frankenberg's book is a study of the political life of a North Wales village by a trained social anthropologist. Pentrediwaith ('village without work') is a community which has suffered from the closing of all its industries: the men travel daily to work in nearby towns. Against this background, Dr. Frankenberg studies in great detail the activities of the Parish Council and the fortunes of the Football Club and the Carnival Committee. He is concerned particularly to demonstrate the importance of conflict and its resolution in village life, following the analyses of Professor Gluckman and others in African societies. The result is a well-written, extremely perceptive account which adds considerably to our knowledge of the social life of rural Britain.

Dr. Frankenberg's study is weakest and most cursory in its treatment of religion, devoted to the dichotomy between Church and

Chapel. Welshmen, at least, will find it surprising that the author, with his keen eye for social disharmony, sees practically none between the four Chapels in the village. Does he speak Welsh?

University College of   W. M. WILLIAMS.
North Staffordshire.

Die Kultürlandschaft Methoden der Forschung und das Beispiel Nordostengland by Harald Uhlig. Kölner Geographische Arbeiten Doppel-Heft 9/10. Pp. vi + 355. Cologne: University Geographical Institute, 1956. D.M.17.50.

British geographers are generally reluctant to discuss the methodology of their subject. Dr. Uhlig, trained in a different tradition, does not share this reluctance. His excellent study begins with nearly a hundred pages of methodological discussion on the problems of cultural landscape research, including a thorough review of the relevant literature. It is followed by a rather longer section (170 pages) devoted to the landscape of the country around Newcastle-on-Tyne. This second part is essentially a detailed example which illustrates Dr. Uhlig's theoretical position and does so in a way that is wholly convincing.

Dr. Uhlig studies the evolution of the landscape and shows with great skill how its present aspect is the result of a long and complex dynamic process. His work would be classed as Historical Geography in Britain, but it is far removed from the 'period pictures' of our own geographers, which attempt to reconstruct a past landscape at a particular point in time. This book deserves to be widely read and carefully studied.

University College of   W. M. WILLIAMS.
North Staffordshire.

The Great Siberian Migration by Donald W. Treadgold. Pp. xiii + 278. Princeton University Press (London: Oxford University Press), 1957. 40s.

A very competent account of the Russian migration in which perhaps six million of the peasant population crossed the Urals to settle in Siberia in the three or four decades up to 1914. Mr. Treadgold leaves over (for another book, it is hoped) detailed treatment of the emergent differences between the new life and the old,

such as independent family farming and its economic, administrative and political concomitants. He expresses firm views, however, on these concomitants which the communist state nipped in the bud by collectivization after the resumption of the migration during the 1920's. The book is an important contribution to the study of modern migrations. For the student of Russian history it provides the first systematic account of this aspect of the 1861-1914 period. Students of the USSR, where the peasantry are now emerging as an independent force after their apparent deep freeze since collectivization, should be grateful for the assistance provided by this book in estimating what the peasants, and the traditions of Siberia—an area of rapidly increasing importance, are likely to contribute to the social and regional interactions that are now changing the ethos of the USSR.

University of Glasgow.   J. MILLER

Games and Decisions by R. Duncan Luce and Howard Raiffa. Pp. xix + 509. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. (London: Chapman & Hall) 1957. 70s.

This volume is the first large fruit of the Behaviour Models Project at Columbia University. It promises a rich crop. The authors, who are mathematicians working in the social sciences, devote most of their book (including technical appendices) to the theory of games —zero-sum and non-zero-sum, co-operative and non-co-operative, two-person and n-person—and they offer a searching critique of utility theory. Only one chapter deals with individual decision-making under uncertainty, and another chapter with group decisions. This seems odd because the authors believe that the 'problem of decision-making is crucial to the whole superstructure' of game theory which they erect.

In discussing experimental determinations of utility they state that they had considered introducing the idea of subjective probability 'on the basis of which people are assumed to act.' They add that little is known about how such subjective probabilities combine with one another, how they interact with utility values, how they are related to the objective probabilities, etc. Actually, experimental studies of these very problems have been accumulating in this country since 1952. It would be interesting to know how the authors would assimilate this material into their axiomatic systems.

The mathematical theory of games and decisions deals with the choices people 'should' make, with the 'optimal,' 'rational,' 'highly idealised' or 'most reasonable' decisions. The psychologist and sociologist however are primarily interested in *actual* choices and decisions. To them therefore axiomatic systems of human behaviour seem remote from the decisions and are over-simplifications of the decisions made in everyday life or in the laboratory. The authors do not ignore such considerations. Their attempt to meet them, however, may seem a little pessimistic to the experimentalist.

In making their critical survey, the authors have succeeded in making an abstruse subject much more widely accessible. They have provided a valuable and not too technical guide to the theory of games for students of economics, political science, sociology, psychology, statistics and philosophy, all of whom will become increasingly involved in this new and intriguing subject.

University of Manchester. JOHN COHEN.

Personality, Appearance and Speech by T. H. Pear. Pp. 167. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1957. 15s.

Studies in Applied Anthropology by L. P. Mair. Pp. 81. London: The Athlone Press, 1957. 13s.6d.

Professor Pear is a well-known skirmisher in the borderlands of psychology, and in his latest book he continues to demonstrate his conviction that psychologists should not all spend their time in the laboratory or the clinic. Only as keen observers in the market-place or the drawing-room, or in front of their T.V. sets, will they pick up the details of appearance and gesture and the nuances of speech-melody and vowel-values which go to make up 'personality' as Professor Pear uses the term. This is an unorthodox usage, stressing the 'effect on others' aspect, and assigning the comparatively stable structure of behaviour to 'character.' In this sense of the word, 'personality' can be adjusted to suit the occasion, and candidates for interviews (and in fact all those who wish to *impersonate*) will find this book a guide to new subtleties. Academic psychologists, with whom Professor Pear seems occasionally inclined to take up cudgels, will find little to quarrel with, apart from the annexation of introversion-extraversion to the notion of personality as essentially

superficial. Sociologists may find that a number of Professor Pear's sharp-eyed observations, especially in the chapter on 'Class Indicators,' will make them think twice: they might well hope that he will now turn to the exploration of the nice variations of social ritual from parlour to palace.

While Pear is concerned with broadening the field of activities of the psychologist, Dr. Lucy Mair sets a limit on what the anthropologist may properly undertake. The first of her seven essays in this collection poses the question of the responsibility of the social scientist (and the anthropologist in particular): is it to provide the know-how regardless of the purpose to which the knowledge is to be put, or to demand a say in determining this purpose? Dr. Mair's answer is firm, and cogently argued: the professional authority of anthropologists is confined to making clear the social implications of any proposed line of action; if they protest its folly or wickedness they do so as private individuals. That this standpoint does not debar the anthropologist from appraising the effects of colonial policies is illustrated by the essays which follow, in which Dr. Mair describes, with admirable clarity and absence of sentiment, examples of the effects of deliberate change on the social systems of native communities in Africa.

University College of   A. H. ILIFFE.
North Staffordshire.

Progress in the Age of Reason by R. V. Sampson. Pp. 259. London: Wm. Heinemann Ltd., 1957. 21s.

In this interesting study Dr. R. V. Sampson analyses a trend of thought which dominated European thinking on history and society throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He shows us the ideas of men who believed that 'historical process was governed by ascertainable law,' and who were convinced that this process would lead humanity towards a perfectly just and free society. These children of the 'enlightenment,' influenced by Descartes and Newton, claimed that it was possible to apply the scientific method to matters of morals, and thus rejected the 'traditional modes of conduct' prescribed by authority. They attacked conservative morals, traditional politics, established religion, as well as social privilege, and tried to prove that progress towards a rational and egalitarian society was inevitable.

Sampson underlines the importance of the moral and social philosophies of Hartley, Priestley and Helvetius who had built on the foundation of the naturalistic psychology of Locke and Condillac, but who at the same time had retained a vague deism in order to make the road to human perfection as smooth as possible. The description of the collapse of the natural law theory of society under the devastating attacks of Hume is one of the most useful chapters of this book. In his critical comments Sampson draws our attention to the strange contradiction between the reformist zeal of men like Helvetius, Turgot, Condorcet, Comte or Marx, and their ultimately demoralizing belief in historical determinism. He also points to the fact that all these thinkers tended to regard the values and aims of their own social group and culture as the highest values and ultimate aims of mankind as a whole.

It is one of the merits of Dr. Sampson's approach to his subject that he regards the theories of the nineteenth century's sociologists and philosophers of history as further developments of the doctrine of evolution proposed by the *philosophes* of the enlightenment. Although the collapse of the belief in natural law divides the age of Turgot, Condorcet and Kant from that of Hegel, Comte and Marx, they are all united in their fundamental belief in the demonstrability of the laws of human progress.

In his conclusions Sampson points to the fundamental common error underlying the various deterministic philosophies of progress, but at the same time he attempts to salvage from the wrecks of this school of thought all that is valuable, such as the concept of an independent science of morals and of society, as well as the belief in the possibility of an improvement of the social and moral conditions of mankind. There are many who will not be able to accept the author's ethical theory, based as it is on individualistic and rationalistic foundations, while his approach to the political dilemmas of the present world may seem to many as over-simplified. Nevertheless, we have to acknowledge the correctness of his evaluation of the deterministic theories of morality and progress. I for one was happy to see that Mr. Sampson had found it possible to criticize the efforts of progressive but over-optimistic thinkers without indulging in a sort of 'historicist baiting,' which seems to be such a popular pastime among some of our very learned, but also very disillusioned contemporaries.

University College of North Staffordshire.   JOHN EROS.

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FOUNDATION OF A EUROPEAN SOCIETY FOR RURAL SOCIOLOGY

A European Society for Rural Sociology was formed at castle Hoekelom near Wageningen on November 29th, 1957. Invitations are being issued to interested parties in all West European countries and it is intended to hold a conference next year, probably on migration from the countryside to the cities.

The Society will issue a journal, establish a centre of documentation for research publications in rural sociology; set up working parties; help co-ordinate research and further its application to the wellbeing of the rural community.

The provisional executive committee of the Society is

Prof. Dr. E. W. Hofstee	(Netherlands)	President
Dr. H. E. Bracey	(England)	
Dr. H. Gad	(Denmark)	
Prof. G. Hoyois	(Belgium)	
Prof. Dr. G. Weippert	(Germany)	Members